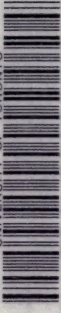


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HENNEPIN'S
A NEW DISCOVERY

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

VOLUME II

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A

NEW DISCOVERY

OF A

VAST COUNTRY

IN AMERICA

By Father Louis Hennepin

Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"

In Two Volumes

VOLUME II

(BEING PART II OF THE ORIGINAL)

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CHICAGO

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

1903

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A. C. McCLURG & CO.
1903
Published October 3, 1903

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Composition by The Dial Press, Chicago.
Presswork by John Wilson & Son,
University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A

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A
CONTINUATION,
OF THE
New Discovery
OF A
Vast Country in AMERICA,
Extending above Four Thousand Miles,
BETWEEN
New France *and* New Mexico;
Giving an
ACCOUNT
OF THE

Attempts of the *Sieur De la SALLE* upon the
Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of
Quebec by the *English*; With the Advantages
of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

To which are added, Several New Discoveries in *North-*
America, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

LONDON, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonson*,
H. Bonwick, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Mansfield*. 1698.

[iii] To His Majesty

William III.

By the Grace of God

King of *Great Britain*.

SIR,

HIS Catholick Majesty, His Electoral Highness of *Bavaria*, and the Superiors of my Order having given me leave to come into these happy Provinces, according to Your Majesty's direction, to publish the Discoveries I have made in *America*; [iv] and Your Majesty having been graciously pleased to accept my first Volume, I make bold to offer You also this Second Part; wherein I insert the Travels of a Gentleman whom I have accompanied several Years, and whose violent Death, by the Hands of his own Men, disappointed the great Designs he had formed upon the Mines of *St. Barbe* in *New Mexico*.¹ The Observations I make upon his Voyage will shew unto Posterity, that a Man must never be ungratefull to his Friends, nor revenge himself of his Enemies, but as much as it concerns the Publick Good, which ought always to prevail upon the private Interest.

This is a Character peculiar to the Illustrious House of

¹ Referring to La Salle, and to his murder in 1687.—ED.

Nassau, who has formerly fill'd the *Roman* Imperial Throne,¹ and who is now cloathed in Your Majesty's Person with a Royal Power over Three great Kingdoms, and [v] other large Dominions which form the *British* Empire.

All the World agrees, that Nature and Grace have happily conspir'd to unite in Your Sacred Person all the Christian, Political and Military Virtue of Your Renowned Ancestors. The great Elevation of Your *Genius*, which has manifested it self by Your noble and generous Designs; Your Generosity and Liberality so worthy of Your Illustrious Birth; Your noble Inclination to do good to all Men, even to Your Enemies themselves, and the unparallell'd Constancy and greatness of Soul which You have express'd in the greatest Adversities, the true Touchstone of true Merit, are so conspicuous, that every one is convinc'd of Your Majesty's Magnanimity, Valour, Justice, Equity, Sincerity and Piety.

Your Majesty signaliz'd the Love You had for Your own Country, when [vi] You took the Command of the Armies of the States General against a powerfull and victorious Conquerour, whom Your Majesty forced to abandon almost in one Day the Conquest he had made in the united Provinces. All the World admir'd Your Valour, and more still Your unparallell'd Prudence, which no body expected in such a degree from a Prince of Three and twenty Years of Age.

¹ An allusion to the Holy Roman Empire, which was founded by Charlemagne in the year 800, and was long the temporal arm of the Roman See, throughout Catholic Europe. Its last head was Francis II, who on Aug. 6, 1806, resigned this imperial dignity, confining his sway to his own hereditary dominion of Austria. The emperor referred to by Hennepin was Adolph, count of Nassau, who reigned as head of the Roman Empire from 1292 to 1298.—ED.

Never Prince was more master of that nice Art of softening the different Tempers of Nations, managing their different Interest, giving Life to their Resolutions, and therefore no Prince had been able hitherto to form and cement such an Alliance as we see at this Day for the safety of *Europe*. Those great Qualities and incomparable Virtues make Your Majesty the Darling of Your People and the Terror of Your Enemies, and keep Rebels and Factious men in awe, when Your Majesty's [vii] absence out of Your own Kingdoms seems to give them a fair Opportunity to disturb the Tranquility of *Great Britain*: As You ascended the Throne without any effusion of Blood, God, whose Glory has been always Your chiefest Care, having been pleased to crown with a glorious and unexpected Success, the Equity of Your Intentions, so Mercy and Clemency have been ever since the Basis of it, notwithstanding the many repeated Provocations of ill-disposed Persons, whose Obstinacy deserv'd to be punish'd.

The Confederate Princes having chosen Your Majesty for their *Generalissimo*, and given proof in their choice both of the Respect and Trust they have in Your Majesty, nothing seems wanting to compleat Your Glory but to procure to *Europe* a solid and lasting Peace, which we hope is near at hand, and which will shew Your Majesty's incomparable Prudence and Wisdom, as [viii] the management of the War has shown Your Valour and Magnanimity. The so much admir'd Prudence of *Cæsar*, and the Valour of *Alexander*, come very short of what Your Majesty has already express'd,

and all impartial Men will agree, that Your Majesty has exceeded the most famous Heroes mentioned in History; but I must leave off this Subject for fear of offending Your *Modesty*, which is an inseparable Companion of all great Souls.

I must beg Your Majesty's Pardon for the Liberty I take to complain against some Inhabitants of this City of *Utrecht*, who, though of the same Religion as I am, endeavour to render me odious, because, being a *Franciscan*, I have dedicated to Your Majesty two Volumes of the Discovery I have made in *America*. They ought to know that I have done nothing but by Your Majesty's Permission and that of the States, and therefore they [ix] have not a due respect for Your Sacred Majesty and their High and Mightinesses. I hope those very Persons will acknowledge one time or other their mistake and the sincerity of my Intentions, which are such, that I may confidently say, I propose nothing to myself but the Glory of God, and to find out, under Your Majesty's Protection, a Passage into *China* and *Japan* without crossing twice the Line, which the *English* and *Dutch* have so often vainly attempted, through the Frozen Sea: I hope, Sir, through the Assistance of God, and the Favour of Your Majesty, to succeed in my Design, and discover it before the end of this Age.

By these means a great many Barbarous Nations will be brought to the knowledge of the true God and their Redeemer Jesus Christ, which I am sure is a sufficient motive for Your Majesty to give all Encouragement for this Undertaking; for being convinc'd of [x] Your Majesty's Piety, I need not use

for an Argument the Temporal Advantages, that will accrue thereby to Your Kingdoms.

That God be pleased to blefs Your Majesty with all forts of Prosperities, Your Undertakings with a glorious Success, and Your Subjects with an everlasting Felicity, is and will always be the Prayer of,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Humble

and most Obedient Servant,

F. Lewis Hennepin,

Missionary Recolleſt and Notary Apoſtolick.

P R E F A C E.

I NEED not make a long Preface to this Book, the Subject Matter thereof is able to recommend it self to the perusal of all Inquisitive Readers. The World, tho' unjust in most cases, do however Justice to Travellers, and the Accounts of their Voyages meet, generally speaking, with a more favourable Reception than any other Performances. This is a kind of Reward to Travellers for the unspeakable Fatigues they have suffer'd. Notwithstanding I have not travelled through Polite Nations, nor seen any wonderfull Edifices in the Countries I have discovered, I have met with that Reward; the Description of the Cabins of Reeds and Rushes, which are the Habitations of above 200 Nations unknown before me, have been as acceptable to Ingenious Readers as the Description of their noble Palaces and Temples of China in some other Authors. My Description of Louisiana was printed several times, and the [xii] late Volume I published has met with such a Reception, that I may presume this will have the same fate. And really the Discovery of 200 different Nations unknown hitherto to the Europeans is, one would think, a fit Subject to excite any one's Curiosity.

I would therefore break off my Preface in this place, were I not obliged to answer some false Accusations my Enemies have raised against me, and because I am in a Religious Order, I think fit to begin with inserting two Attestations or Certificates of Fathers

of my own Order, which will prevent some further Calumnies on that Point.

I UNDERWRITTEN certify to have read and examined a Book entituled, *A Description of Louisiana*, newly discovered to the *South-west* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, written by Father *Hennepin* a Recollect Preacher, and Apostolick Missionary, and to have found nothing therein contrary to Faith or good Manners, but that on the contrary, the said Book contains many Reflections and Remarks, which may be of great use for the Conversion of the Savages, and the Advantages of the Kingdom. Given at our Co[n]vent of Recollects in *Paris*, *December 13*, 1682.

F. Cefaree Harveau *Lector in Divinity, Father Provincial and Custos of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denys in France.*

[xiii]

I HAVE read a book entituled, *A Description of Louisiana*, newly discovered to the *South-west* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, in which I have found nothing but what is conformable to the Faith of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church, the Laws of the Kingdom, and good Manners; and it may be very usefull towards establishing the Faith of Jesus Christ in that new World, and extending the Empire of our Monarch in that fertile and delicious Country. Given at *St. Germain en Laye* in our Co[n]vent of Recollects, *December 14*, 1682.

F. Innocent Micault *Definitor of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denys in France, and General Commissioner in the Province of Recollects of St. Anthony in Artois.*

Having premised these two Certificates, I come now to answer the Objections my Enemies urge against me.

1. *How, say they, can a Franciscan, and consequently a Priest of the Church of Rome, solicit a Protestant Prince to send him to preach the Gospel unto the Ignorant Nations he has discovered? For is it not more reasonable to think, that that Monarch will rather convert that People to his own Religion, than suffer Catholick Missionaries [xiv] to convert them to the Church of Rome? What Opinion then ought Men to have of the Religion of Father Hennepin? This is the chief Argument insisted on by my Enemies to make me odious to those of my Religion, or rather to the ignorant part of it; but I may easily confute that silly Calumny: For in the first place, His Majesty of Great Britain has not exacted nor demanded any Promise of me, when He was pleased to admit me into His Service, that may be directly or indirectly contrary to my Religion. These Bigots ought by the same reason to censure the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Electors of the Empire, and Bishops of Liege, Munster, &c. who are entred into so strict an Alliance with His Majesty of Great Britain, and conclude from thence, that those Catholick Princes have formed some Design against the Catholick Religion. But supposing that the English convert those numerous Nations to their Religion, and that I contribute something to it, am I for all that to be blamed? I hope no body will say so, unless it be those morose Bigots, who think that the ignorant Americans who worship the Devil, or any other Creature, are nearer to the Kingdom of God than Protestants who worship the same God as we, hope in the same Redeemer, and are separated from us only upon some points; which Opinion I look upon as a Frenzy worthy of my Com-*

passion, and not of a Reply. But who told them that the Catholick Faith cannot be preached under the Protection of King William, or the States General? Those who censure me, enjoy their Religion [xv] under that very Protection, and the Reader will find at the latter end of this Volume, what offers the English made to our Recollects in America. But let them say what they please, I have the Approbation of His Catholick Majesty, the Elector of Bavaria, and the permission of the Superiors of my Order.

2. *Some others think that I impose upon them in the Account I give of the course of the Meschasipi, and that it is not possible I should have travelled in so short a time from its Mouth to its Source. To these I reply, that they are not acquainted with Canoes made of Bark of Trees, which are so light that one may travel 20, 25, and in case of need 30 Leagues in a Day against the Stream of a River, whereas by my Account it does not come to Ten in a Day. But if one follows the Stream, as we did from the River of the Illinois to the Mouth of the Meschasipi, the swiftness is so great, that I am sure we spent twice more than was requir'd.*

3. *When wicked and malicious Persons conspire the Ruin of a Man they hate, or else who gives them some umbrage, they make use of all Artifices; therefore my Enemies being afraid, that the publishing of my Discoveries may prejudice their Interest, they have done their utmost to dissuade the Booksellers of this City of Utrecht from printing my Books; insinuating, that this was but a Repetition of my Description of Louisiana published many Years agoe, and translated, as they say, into Dutch; but really this is very impertinent; for my Louisiana contains not 20 Sheets, and how is it [xvi] possible that the Abstract of it should contain 50? 'Tis true, I repeat*

some few things I published then, because otherwise I had been unintelligible, but most commonly I refer the Reader to that Book, which certainly I would not have done, if this last were nothing but the Repetition of the former. But I would ask these Gentlemen, whether they have found in the Description of Louisiana, any Account of the Course of the Meschafipi from the River of the Illinois into the Gulph of Mexico; nor the Account of Mr. de la Salle's unfortunate Travels, with my Additions, and many other things: And as there is no body so impudent to say they have, they confute themselves, and must own, that these two Books I have dedicated to His Majesty were not printed before. I have however the Comfort that they don't accuse me to have robb'd others; the Louisiana was my own Work, and I think I may be as free to borrow something from it in case of need, as others have done.

4. *A Learned Man has observ'd in a very civil manner, that I have said that I have spent about 11 Years in my Discovery, and yet it does not appear by my Account of it that I have been so long; but he must observe, that when I say Eleven Years, I reckon from the time that I set out from Flanders, which was just after the Battel of Seneff, where I was in great danger of my life, to the second Edition of my Description of Louisiana, which was in 1688; and therefore I might have said Fourteen Years instead of Eleven; for [xvii] I have been all that while about it, either in Europe or America.*

5. *Some other peevish Criticks urge, that when I say that the of Savages of Iffati call the Sun Louis, I designed to flatter the King France; but this is a foolish Suggestion, and a far fetch'd Flattery, the name of Louis being common to the King and the meanest of*

his Subjects; therefore I repeat, how that having liv'd a considerable time in the Family of Aquipaguetin, one of the chief of the Iffati, and learned their Language, I was assured, that they call the Sun by no other name than Louis, and the Moon Louis Bafetche, that is the Sun of the Night.

6. *Others having no Objection to make, tells us, That I relate nothing extraordinary; but in the name of Wonder, what will this People have? For if the Description of 4 or 5 Lakes, or rather Fresh-water Seas, some of which are in circuit 4, 5 and 700 Leagues, upon which we sailed with a Ship of 60 Tuns for 500 Leagues together, to the great amazement of the Savages, who had never seen the like, nor heard the noise of Cannon: If the Description of the fall of Ni[a]gara, which is one of the most surprizing things in the World, the Water falling from above 700 Foot high: If the Discovery of 200 different Nations unknown before, and of whom no Traveller had made mention; if all these things, I say, with the Description of that delicious Country, does not seem extraordinary, I don't know what will seem such to those Gentlemen. I relate what I have seen, and [xviii] really I lie under no temptation to forge any surprizing Discovery to recommend my Book, the real things I have observ'd being worthy of the Consideration of all ingenious Men.*

7. *Such who have not travelled, nor read many Accounts of Voyages, are very apt to blame what they don't understand, and therefore laugh when one tells them of a new discovered Country larger than Europe, for they fancy there can be no such thing; and when they talk of Canada, they talk of it as if it were no larger than a Principality in Germany; but Men of Parts and Reading*

are of another Opinion : I have demonstrated that Canada is about 700 Leagues long, and that the Coast of the River St. Laurence, which I have survey'd from its Mouth to the great Lake from which it springs is near 800 Leagues long. I say the same thing of the incomparable River Meschafipi, which is larger and bigger than the former ; and to shew the probability of the thing, I have set down in the general Map of my Discovery the Course of the River of the Amazons, in the Southern America, which is esteemed much the same, though in my Opinion the Meschafipi and the River St. Laurence have a longer Course. From the Course of these Rivers, and the Extent of the Lakes, I conclude that the Continent I have discovered is larger than Europe, which might in time form one of the greatest Empires in the World.

I intend to describe in this Volume those Countries, to treat of the nature of their Soil, and of [xix] the Customs, Manners, and Genius of the Inhabitants ; and what sort of Trades may be settled in those Parts ; therefore I thought fit to add an Abstract of the Voyage Mr. de la Salle made thither after me. The whole is divided into Chapters, according to the Method I followed in the First Part.

I design the latter end of my Book to treat of the few Conversions our Missionaries have wrought in Canada, notwithstanding their Zeal and indefatigable Labours, which ought to make us thankful towards God, who out of his infinite kindness has been pleased to bless us with his Knowledge, whilst so many thousands of our fellow Creatures are wholly left to themselves, without any Knowledge of God. I am however fully convinced, that the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the Meschafipi will be more susceptible and

capable of embracing our Holy Religion, because they are not so fierce, than the Savages of the North, who are commonly Cruel and Obstinate.

To make this Volume more usefull, I have made some Reflections on Mr. de la Salle's last Voyage, because I was better acquainted with those vast Countries than Father Christian le Clercqz,¹ Definitor of our Recolleets of the Province of Artois, who has published an Account of it. I have a great esteem for that Father, and was always his Friend, and must own, that he has given a good Account of Canada, and Gaspesia; but at the same time I must say, that the Account he gives of the Inhabitants of Louifiana and about the Meschafipi is not to [xx] be rely'd upon, for he never was within 1200 Leagues of that Country. Gaspee in Accadia, and Quebec, the nearest places where he has been, being above that distance. 'Tis true, the Diary of my Discovery, of which I gave a Copy to Father Valentin le Roux, as I have observed in my first Volume, was communicated unto him, as also some Memoirs of Father Zenobe Mambre, who remained among the Illinois, while I was sent to discover the Course of the Meschafipi; and so far Father le Clercqz is right, but his Additions are not of the same Coyn. I do not wonder that he should commend so much Father

¹ Chrestien le Clercq was a missionary in Gaspé from 1675 to 1689, and wrote an account of his labors there—*Relation de la Gaspésie* (Paris, 1691). In 1681 he went to France, and returned to Canada in the following year, commissioned by his superiors to establish a Récollet residence at Montreal. In 1690 he was recalled to France. Hennepin here refers to Le Clercq's other book, which we have often cited, *Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1691), which gives full accounts of La Salle's voyages.

The final "z" in Le Clercq's name, as here given, is doubtless an error of the English printer, arising from either some flourish at the end of "q," or the contraction for "ue" (3), often used in early French MSS. — ED.

Mambre, *who was his own Cousin, and a very good Man besides.* We travelled together as far as Fort Crevecœur mentioned in my first Volume, where I left him among the Illinois, and have been always good Friends. After his return from America he came to see me in our Co[n]vent of Chateau Cambresis [Cambray], and told me, he was going again into America with Mr. de la Salle, and that he expected he should have an Opportunity to make more exact Observations on the Meschafipi than those I had done in the Year 1680, because Mr. de la Salle designed to undertake that Voyage with such a number of Men as to fear nothing from the Insults of the Savages. But if I do not blame Father le Clercqz for the honourable mention he makes of his Relation, I think every body will condemn him for his concealing the name of the Author he has transcrib'd, and thereby attributing to himself the glory of my perilous Voyage.¹ This [xxi] piece of Injustice is common enough in this Age.

Mr. de la Salle undertook to go down the Meschafipi from the River of the Illinois in the Year 1682, that is, two Years after me, which was the source and cause of his Animosity against me, and of the rigorous Orders they obtained from the Court of France, to command me to depart the Dominions of the French King, upon

¹ This aspersion is hardly justified by Le Clercq's own words; he says (Shea's translation of *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 125, 128, 129): "Father Louis . . . has published the description of the countries which he visited, and into which he carried the Gospel. I, therefore, must refer my reader to it without repeating any part of it here. . . . As I continue the account of a discovery in which Father Zenobius [Membré] took a considerable part and was constantly present, and as we derive from his letters the chief information we can have about it . . . it corresponds with many fragments which we have of the Sieur de la Salle, and the testimony of Frenchmen and Indians who accompanied them."—ED.

pretence that I was a Subject of the King of Spain, as I have mentioned in my Preface to my first Volume. This Order, as I may presume to say so, was as contrary to the Rule of Justice, as of Politicks, for they might very well foresee that I should acquaint some person or other with my Discoveries, and cross thereby their Designs.

From these Observations it is plain, that as I was the first European who discovered the Course of the Meschasipi, and the delicious Country about it; so all others have seen nothing but what I had seen before, and have related nothing material, but what they have abstracted out of the Copy of the Journal of my Voyage which I gave to Father Valentin le Roux, and was by him communicated to Father Hyacinth le Fevre.

Mr. de la Salle had begun a Settlement in the Island of Montreal in Canada, which is 25 Leagues about, and this small Colony is so much improv'd as to be now a great and populous Village.¹ They call it China, because while Mr. de la Salle lived there, and began the Settlement, he spoke very often of the Mines of St. Barbe, and said, that as soon as he had taken those Mines, he would go [xxii] into China and Japan without crossing the Line, and to that end, find a Passage into the South-Sea. This was the chief Subject of our Conversations, and as the Discoveries I have made cannot be far from the Pacifick Sea, I don't question but Mr. de la Salle, whose great Courage was proof against all Difficulties and Misfortunes, would have succeeded in his Design.

¹ The village of La Chine. Hennepin exaggerates its growth; for the official census of October, 1698, gives the total population of Lachine, Bout de l'Isle, and Rivière St. Pierre as but 270 souls (including children).—ED.



M. Vander gucht Scul.

The Unfortunate adventures of Mons^r. de la Salle.

Those who are skill'd in Geography have long agoe suspected that Japan is contiguous to the Lands of the Northern America; and the Learned Grævius,¹ so well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, having carefully examined our Discovery, was pleas'd to tell me very lately in a meeting of Vertuosi, in this City of Utrecht, That he was of my Opinion, and did not think that Japan was an Island, as it is commonly said, but that it joyns with the large Country I had discovered.

I have made use of a proof in my last Volume, Chapter 37, which I crave leave to repeat in this place, because it is a Matter of Fact: While I was amongst the Iffati and Nadouessians there came an Embassy of Savages from a very remote Nation to the Westward. I was in the Cabin when my Foster Father Aquipaguëtin (for he had adopted me his Son) gave them Audience, and having asked them some Questions by an Interpreter, they told me that they came from a remote Country to the Westward, that they had marched 3 Moons, (that is, Months) without meeting with any Lasa, that is in their meaning, the Seas; which certainly [xxiii] could not be true, was there any such a thing as the Streight of Agnian set down in most of our Mapps.

The English and Dutch have in vain attempted to find out a Passage to China and Japan through the Frozen-Sea, but if they are pleas'd to send me about it, I am confident that I shall find some great River running into the Pacifick-Sea, whereby, and by means of the Meschafipi, it will be easie to trade and have Com-

¹ Joannes G. Graef (Latinized, Grævius), a German philologist and archæologist, professor in the university of Utrecht (where he died in 1703), and author of numerous books.—ED.

munication with China and Japan without crossing twice the Line: and losing abundance of Men.

I am so fully convinced of what I say, that I am willing to return into America to shew the Way unto others; some will blame me for this rash Undertaking, but why should I have less Zeal for the Service of God than those Pious Recolleſts who ventured into the Kingdom of Voxu in the Eastern part of Japan, and converted the King thereof to the Knowledge of God. That Prince was so Zealous for the true Religion, that he burnt 800 Idols, and sent an Ambassador into Europe with a Retinue of 100 Gentlemen. They embarked October 28. 1613, and arrived in Spain November 10. 1614, being conducted by Father Lewis Sotello a Recolleſt, who presented the said Ambaſdor to his Catholick Majesty, and afterwards to the Pope, whom he assured, that the King his Master and most of his Subjects had renounced their Idolatry and embraced the Christian Religion. The Reader will forgive me if I relate two or three things more for the Honour of my Order.¹ The [xxiv] Franciscans were the first who accompanied Christopher Columbus into his newly discovered Country, and had the Honour to preach first of all the Knowledge of God to the Indians. The Conquest of the Spaniards arrived to the highest pitch in the Years 1540 and 1541, and yet no other Religious Order had been employed to bring those lost Sheep into the Flock of the Lord, and they alone had converted a great part of the Subjects of the King of

¹ The Franciscan order (also called Gray Friars, and Friars Minor) was founded in 1209, by St. Francis d'Assisi. Not long after his death, his order numbered 200,000 priests and 8,000 convents. The Récollets were an offshoot from the Franciscans (about 1531).—ED.

Japan unto the Christian Faith: So that having those great Models before me, I may say, that I long to make an end of my Discovery.

That short passage into China, would, I think, prove as advantageous to Europe, as any Discovery that has been yet made; and this is another great Encouragement for me, for what greater satisfaction can a rational Being propose to himself, than to do good to Mankind, and find out something usefull to his Country? Having therefore all Power and Patents necessary for my Mission, I am ready for that great Voyage, and I hope, through the Grace of God to be able to go through that Discovery, and thereby convince the World of the Equity of my Intentions.

The Reader may observe, that the Settlements that shall be made in that Country will absolutely be managed by Laicks, and that supposing the Franciscans should be employ'd 500 Years about the Conversion of the Natives, they should not have there an inch of Land to themselves, it being against the Laws of their Order; whereas in some other Countries, where another Order has got a [xxv] footing, they are Masters now of the Temporal as well as the Spiritual, the best Lordships and Mannors [Manors] belonging to them. How they have discharged their Spiritual Function, I don't know, but sure I am, they have taken a great care of their Temporal Interest, as I intend to shew in a third Volume, which I shall publish in this City of Utrecht, if it is thought convenient.

I should have a fair opportunity to avenge my self in this Preface of certain Persons of this very Town, who have aspersed me with the utmost Malice, and kept for their own use the Money

I had received from his Majesty of Great Britain, and which I advanc'd to them for my Subsistence. This is a very foul Action, and worthy to be publickly taken notice of; but my Religion teaching me to forgive my Enemies, I follow that Precept, and do heartily forgive them.

THE CONTENTS.¹

CHAP. I.

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[1] A
VOYAGE
INTO A
Newly Discover'd Country
Larger than
EUROPE,
Situate between the
Frozen Sea and New Mexico.

CHAP. I.

*An Account of M. de la Salle's Undertaking to discover the River
Meschafipi by the Gulph of Mexico, and his establishing a
small Colony at the Bay of St. Lewis.*

REASON ought to rule Men in all cases, and whenever they think themselves wrong'd by others, they ought, as Christians, to impute it rather to their Pre-occupation or Prejudices, than to their Malice; and this Maxim I propose to my self as my rule, as the Readers will observe in the following Narration.

I liv'd near three Years together as Missionary with Mr. *Robert Cavelier de la Salle* at Fort *Katarokouy* or *Frontenac*, whereof he was Governor and Proprietor; and during that

time, we read together the Voyages [2] of *John Pontius de Leon*, *Pamphilio Narvaez* *Christopher Columbus*, *Ferdinand Soto*,¹ and several other Travellers, the better to fit and prepare our selves for the great Discovery we intended to make. *M. de la Salle* was a fit Man for the greatest Undertakings, and may be justly rank'd amongst the most famous Travellers that ever were, as it will appear to whomsoever will consider that he spent his own Estate about the greatest, most important, and most perillous Discovery that has been yet made; which he undertook with a handfull of Men, whom he preserv'd from the numerous Nations he discover'd, amongst whom all other Travellers, except *Columbus*, perish'd without reaping any advantage from their Enterprizes, which however cost them above 10000 Men: so that upon the whole, I may boldly conclude, that no body, before *M. de la Salle* and I, undertook so dangerous an Expedition with so few Men.

Our design was to endeavour to find out, if possible, a Passage from the Northern to the South Sea without crossing the Line, which a great many have hitherto sought in vain. The River *Meschasipi* does not indeed run that way, but however *M. de la Salle* was in hopes to discover by the means of the *Meschasipi*, some other River running into the South Sea, and knowing his great Courage and Ability, I don't question but he would have succeeded, had God been pleas'd to preserve his Life. As that unfortunate Gentleman was about it, he was murder'd; and if the divine Providence has

¹ Juan Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida; Pamphilio de Narvaez, another noted Spanish officer in Florida; Cristoforo Colombo, who discovered the New World; and Hernando de Soto, who first made known the Mississippi River.—ED.

ſpar'd me, 'tis it ſeems, that I may acquaint the World with a ſhort way to go to *Cbina* and *Japan*, which I hope may be done by means of my Discoveries: Therefore if his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, or the States General are willing to ſend any body to find out that ſo much talk'd of Paſſage, and that I may accompany them, I am morally ſure that by the Grace of God, we ſhall ſucceed before the end of this Age.

[3] The Country of the *Illinois*, and other neighbouring Nations, being the Center of our Diſcovery, *M. de la Salle* deſign'd to ſettle there a Colony; and therefore any Prince or State, who will purſue ſo generous a Deſign, muſt follow the ſame method, and build Forts from Place to Place, to have an uninterrupted Communication, and keep in awe the Inhabitants of theſe vaſt Countries. The firſt thing *M. de la Salle* did in order thereto, was to endeavour to find out by Sea the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the Gulph of *Mexico*, as it has been ſaid in my firſt Volume, to ſettle there a Colony, and build a good Fort to be as his Magazine, and ſerve as a retreat both by Sea and Land in caſe of any miſhap. He made his Propoſals to the *French King's* Council; which were perus'd and approv'd by *Monſieur de Seignelay* Secretary and Miniſter of State, and Intendent General of the Commerce and Navigation of *France*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty¹ approved likewise his Deſign, gave him all

¹Louis XIV was then King of France. Jean Baptiſte Colbert, marquis de Seignelay, ſon of the great Colbert, was one of his miniſters until his death in 1691. Larouſſe ſays of Seignelay: "Under his adminiſtration the French marine attained a degree of proſperity which it has never known ſince, and could compete with the combined fleets of England and Holland."—ED.

necessary Authority, and supply'd him with Ships, Men and Money.

M. *de la Salle* having obtain'd what he desir'd from the King, thought of chusing able Missionaries to convert those barbarous and wild Nations unto the Christian Religion, and resolv'd to use two different Orders; but as this choice was a nice and difficult thing, he apply'd himself to Monsieur *Tronson* Superiour of the *Seminary* of St. *Sulpicius* at *Paris*,¹ who appointed three Men of great Vertue, Zeal and Capacity to attend M. *de la Salle* as Missionaries; these were M. *Cavelier* Brother to M. *de la Salle*, M. *Chefdeville* a Relation of his, and M. *Majulle*, Priests in the said *Seminary*.

I had attended M. *de la Salle* near twelve Years in the Discovery of *Louisiana*, and Father *Zenobe*, and *Gabriel de la Ribourde* and my self had likewise accompanied him into the Country of the *Illinois*, where *Gabriel* was murdered by the Savages, therefore [4] M. *de la Salle* resolv'd to have some *Recolleÿts* to endeavour to establish the Knowledge of God in those vast Countries, and to that end applied himself to Father *Hyacinth le Fevre*, who was then for a second time *Provincial Commissary* of the Province of St. *Denys* in *France*, who granted him the Missionaries he demanded, *viz.* Father *Zenobe Mambré* of *Bapaume* as Superiour, Father *Maxime le*

¹ Jean Jacques Olier, a priest at Paris, founded (1640) an association of priests at Vaugirard, which he transferred in the following year to Paris, where it expanded into the Seminary of St. Sulpice, its priests being known as Sulpitians. In 1657, some were sent to Montreal, and six years later the Associates of Montreal surrendered to the Seminary their newly-formed colony, with their seigniorial rights over Montreal Island — possessions which have made the Montreal branch of the order enormously wealthy. — ED.

Clerc of *Lille* in *Flanders*, *Anastase Douay* of *Quefnoy* in *Hainault*, and *Denys Morquet* of *Arras*, all *Recolleets* of the Province of *St. Anthony* in *Artois*. The first, as I have said, had been as far as the *Illinois* with *M. de la Salle*, and I toward the latter end of the Year 1679. And the beginning of the following, and two Years after, viz. 1682 he went with *M. de la Salle* to the Mouth of the *Meschafipi* in the Gulph of *Mexico*, about two Years after my Discovery. The second Father had been five Years Missionary in *Canada*, and had performed the Functions of his Ministry with great Diligence and much Edification, especially in the Mission of the *Seven Islands* and *Anticosti*. Father *Douay*, who is now Vicar of the *Recolleets* of *Cambray*, had never been in *America*, no more than Father *Denys*, who fell so sick three days after he went on board, that he was forced to go a-shore and return into his Province.

The *Provincial* of the Order acquainted with this Mission the Congregation *de propaganda fide*,¹ to obtain the Power and Authority necessary for that Enterprize, who sent a Decree according to the usual Form; and Pope *Innocent XI.* added a Brief thereunto, containing several Powers and Commissions in 36 Articles, that are usually granted to Missionaries going into remote Countries, where they cannot refer certain Cases to Bishops. The Bishop of *Quebec* oppos'd it with all his Interest, but Cardinal *d'Etrees*² shew'd, that his

¹ This body was formed by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1622, to spread the Roman Catholic faith, and to direct all missions of that church — a work which it still continues. — ED.

² César d' Estrées, a French cardinal; a noted ecclesiastic and diplomatist of the seventeenth century. — ED.

Opposition was unreaſonable, ſeeing the Country where theſe Miſſionaries were to preach the [5] Goſpel, was 1000 Leagues diſtant from *Quebec*.

The advantages they expected in *France* from our Diſcovery were ſo great, that ſeveral young Gentlemen offer'd themſelves to accompany M. *de la Salle* as Volunteers, tho' they knew him only by the character I had given of him in my Deſcription of *Louiſiana*, which I publiſh'd after my return into *France*. This alſo gain'd him the eſteem of Monſieur *Seignelay*, which was very advantageous to him. That Miniſter ſent for me ſeveral times to diſcourſe with him about the circumſtances of our Diſcovery, which I told him ſincerely, concealing only my Diſcovery of the Courſe of the *Mechafipi* from the River of the *Illinois* to the Gulph of *Mexico*, out of pure kindneſs for M. *de la Salle*, who thereby recommended himſelf to the favour of the late Prince of *Conti*¹ and Monſieur *Seignelay*.

All things being thus favourably diſpoſed, M. *de la Salle* choſe twelve Gentlemen, who appear'd to him vigorous, and like to bear the Fatigues of that Voyage, and amongſt them, he took two of his own Nephews, *viz.* Mr. *Moranger* and Mr. *Cavelier*, tho' this laſt was but fourteen Years of Age. One *Mertin*, Son to a rich Merchant of *Rochel*, went alſo with him. In the mean time, they fitted out in that Harbour his ſmall Fleet, which conſiſted of four Ships, *viz.* the *Toby*, one of the King's Men of War; the *Handſom*, a ſmall Frigate; a

¹ Louis Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti, who died in 1685; a diſſolute but brave nobleman.—ED.

Fly-Boat, call'd *l'Aimable*, and a Ketch, call'd *St. Francis*. The Man of War was commanded by Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, with whom I have had several Conversations since his return, at *Dunkirk*. This Officer is known by his great Services and long Experience, as well as his Lieutenant, the Chevalier *de Here*, who is now Captain of a Man of War. The Ensign was called *de Hamel*, a Gentleman of *Bretaigny*, of a strong and vigorous Constitution. It were to be wish'd that [6] the Crew of the Ships, as well as the Soldiers, had answer'd the Character of the Officers; but while *M. de la Salle* was at Court, those whom he employed to make his Levies, list'd about 150 poor Beggars, deformed, lame, and unfit for the hard Services they were design'd for: He had also desir'd them to engage Men of several Professions, as Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Mafons, and the like; but when he came to try them, he found they were dull and ignorant Creatures, so that he was forced to find out new Soldiers and Workmen, which took up much of his time. About ten Families of the Neighbourhood of *Rochel* offer'd themselves to go with him to settle a Colony, which he accepted, and advanc'd them Money to buy what was thought most necessary for their Establishment.

His Preparations being finished, the Fleet sail'd *July 24*, 1684 from *Rochel*, but a violent Storm oblig'd them to come back, and they continued in the Road till *August 5*, that they sail'd for *St. Domingo*. They met with another Storm on the *14 of September*, which separat'd the Fleet; the Fly-boat remain'd alone with the Frigat, and arriv'd together at *Petit*

Guaves, where they found the *Toby*, and heard that the *St. Francis*, on board which were their Merchandizes, was arriv'd at *Port de Paix*. The bad Weather being over, the Ketch failed for *Petit-Guaves*, the Rendezvous of the Fleet, but was unhappily taken in her way by the *Spanish* Cruisers.

I remember that in our Conversations at Fort *Frontenac*, *M. de la Salle* told me several times, that he would die satisfied and contented, could he but make himself Master of the Mine of *St. Barbe* in *New Mexico*; I gave him no answer at first, but seeing that he repeated it too often, tho' I knew I was a Subject of the King of *Spain*, I could not forbear to express my Affection for my lawfull Sovereign, and told him, that tho' I [7] was with him I had not forgot my Native Country concluding my answer with these words, *Vincit amor Patriæ*. This was perhaps the first cause of all the hardships and injustices I have suffer'd since that time, and which I might therefore have avoided, had I been capable of dissembling, as the Generality of Mankind do. But to return to *M. la Salles*, the loss of the Ketch was of a fatal consequence to him, not so much for the value of the Merchandizes, but because the *Spaniards* had notice of his designs against their Mines.

M. la Salles was hardly recover'd of a dangerous Distemper, when those unhappy Tydings were brought to him, and was like to relapse upon that occasion; but the rest of his company being not as couragious as he, were quite dispirited, and neglected to keep the Soldiers under a severe Discipline, who giving up themselves to the Lewdness and Dissoluteness,

so common in those Islands, contracted such Distempers that a great many died before they left *Petit-Guaves*, and the others continued sickly all their Life. As soon as *M. de la Salle* was able to walk abroad, he made his Preparations for leaving the Island, and by the assistance of *Monfieur de St. Laurence* Governour General of the *French* Islands, and *Monfieur Begon*, Intendent of the same; he put his Fleet in a condition to sail from thence, *November 25, 1684*, having taken on board all sorts of Refreshments, a great quantity of *Indian* Corn, and of all sorts of tame Beasts to stock the new Country they were going to inhabit.

They sail'd along the Islands of *Caimano*, and touch'd at the Island of *Peace* for fresh Water, and from thence sail'd to *St. Anthony* in the Island of *Cuba*, where they anchor'd. The Sweetness and Situation of that place invited them to land, and they found a good Store of Refreshments, and even some Wine which the *Spaniards* had left in that place, having run away with too great a Precipitation. They continued there two [8] days, and then sail'd, steering towards the Gulph of *Mexico*.

M. de la Salle was a very understanding Man, and hardly to be impos'd upon, yet he was deceiv'd by some Men of *St. Domingo*, and it was by their advice that he steer'd a wrong Course. They had told him that the Northern Winds were very dangerous at the entrance of the Gulph, and this fear oblig'd him to return thence upon the Coast of *Cuba*; but at last he overcame all Difficulties, and got into the Gulph, *January 1. 1685.* and descry'd a Fortnight after the Coast of

Florida, where they were surpriz'd by a strong Wind, which parted the Fleet, the *Toby* keeping off from the Coast, and the Frigat and the Fly-boat as near the Land as possible: they had told him also, that the Current of the Gulph runs with a great Rapidity towards the Channel of *Babama*, but he found himself mistaken, and lost thereby his Course, for thinking he was too far to the North, he sail'd by the Bay of *Spirito Santo* [Mobile], and overshot the Mouth of the *Meschafipi*. They were undeceiv'd by the Coast of the Gulph, which bends in that place to the Southward, and having taken the Elevation of the Pole, they found they were within 50 Leagues of the *Meschafipi*. The three Ships joyned again about the middle of *February* in the Bay *di Spirito Santo*, where it was agreed to alter their Course; and about 10 Leagues off they found a large Bay, which they called *St. Lewis*.¹ The Provisions growing scarce, the Soldiers were sent a-shore, and *M. de la Salle* founded the Bay, which he found deep, and the bottom a good Anchorage, so that the Frigat got in happily on the 18th. The Channel is very deep, but somewhat narrow, and there is a Sand at the Mouth of it: *M. de la Salle* took that Bay for the right Arm of the *Meschafipi*, and indeed there was much likelihood of it.

¹ Now Matagorda Bay, on the coast of Texas.—ED.

[9] CHAP. II.

An Account of several Misfortunes that befell M. de la Salle at the Bay of St. Lewis.

M. *LA SALLE* had expressly forbid the Captain of the Fly-boat to attempt to come into the Bay, without having on board the Pilot of the Frigate, who was an experienc'd Man; and for a greater security he had commanded him to unlade his Guns into the Pinnacle to make his Ship the lighter; yet that Brute neglected those Orders and Advice, and without taking any notice of the Marks or Poles they had placed on the Sands to shew him the Channel, and the Advice of the Seamen, he sail'd his Ship at random, and ran her against a Sand where she remain'd: *M. de la Salle* was a-shore, and fearing the fate of his Ship, was going on board to save her, but was prevented by about 120 Savages who came to attack him: He put his Men in a posture of defence, but the noise alone of the Drums put the Savages to flight: *M. de la Salle* follow'd them and presented them the *Calumet* of Peace, which they accepted, and came along with him to his Camp, where he entertain'd them, and sent them back with some Presents; they were so pleas'd, that they brought some Provisions the next day, and made Alliance with *M. de la Salle*, whereby they engag'd themselves to supply him with

some Pyrogues or wooden Canou's: That Alliance would likely have prov'd very advantageous to M. *de la Salle*, had not an unforeseen Accident broke that good Intelligence.

As they were unlading the Fly boat which had struck upon the Sand to endeavour to get her off, a Pack of Blankets fell into the Sea, which the Waves [10] drove upon the shore: The Savages found it, and M. *de la Salle* having notice thereof, sent to demand it of them in a very civil manner. They shew'd some Reluctancy, whereupon the Officer instead of acting the prudent part, threatned to kill them unless they restor'd it immediately. They were so frighted and incens'd against them, that they resolv'd to be aveng'd of that Affront; and in order thereto, got together in the Night time between the 6 and 7 of *March*, and march'd to surprize the *French* Camp. They advanc'd as near as they would, the Sentry being asleep, and made a discharge of their Arrows which killed 4 Gentlemen Officers and Volunteers, and wounded M. *Moranger* and another Volunteer. The *French* ran to their Arms, and fired upon the Savages, who run away tho' none was wounded: they found the next day two of M. *de la Salle's* Men whom they murthered as they were sleeping.

In the mean time they unladed the Fly-boat, which was too far sunk to be got off, and saved most of the Goods, and as they were endeavouring to save the rest, she was dashed in Pieces by the violence of the Wind and Waves, and several Men were in great danger of being drowned, but by the Grace of God all escap'd.

Monfieur *Beaujeu* seeing all the Goods and Merchandizes

landed, and a Fort almost finished, sailed the 12th of *March* for *France*, and M. *de la Salle* having fortified his Magazine or Fort, which they call *Hangar*, left 100 men under the Command of his Nephew M. *Moranger*, for the defence of it; and with the rest, being 50, and 3 Missionaries, *viz.* M. *Cavelier*, and Father *Zenobe* and *Maxime*, advanced into the Country following the Bay, in hopes to find the *Meschasipi*.¹ The Captain of the Frigate was ordered to sound at the same time the Channel, and bring his Ship as high as he could with safety, which he did, [11] and brought his Ship to an Anchor at a place which was call'd *Hurier*, from the name of the Officer who was left at that place for the Security of that Port, which was absolutely necessary to maintain the Communication between the first Habitation, and another M. *de la Salle* made on the 2d of *April* at the bottom of the Bay upon the Banks of a fine River, which was called the River of the *Cows*,² because of the vast number of those Beasts that were discover'd in those parts. The Savages came to attack our Men, but were so warmly receiv'd, that they retir'd without doing the *French* any harm.

On the 21st, being *Easter-Eve*, M. *de la Salle* return'd to the first Camp, and the next day was spent in Devotions; but the 23d they began to carry all the Effects from the two Forts, to the Settlement M. *de la Salle* had made upon the River above-mention'd, and when they had made an end of

¹ For detailed account of this expedition of La Salle, and his attempt to found a colony on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 322-387.—ED.

² Now called the Lavaca River.—ED.

it, they razed the said Forts. They had sown some Pulse and Corn, but either the Soil was not good, or else the Seed was spoil'd by Salt Water, for it did not rise at all. *M. de la Salle* might have remembred what I had formerly told him in our Voyage to the *Illinois*, that Corn and other Seeds which we bring from *Europe*, must either be in their Ears or Hulls, for otherwise they lose their Vertue at Sea, and cannot grow in a Soil that was never cultivated before.

They built a Fort in a very advantageous Post, with so much diligence, that it was in a few days in a good Posture of Defence, being defended by 12 Pieces of Cannon. They made a great Magazine under ground to preserve their Goods and Provisions from Fire. It is to be observed that the Forts in *America*, I mean such as I speak of now, require not so much Art and Labour, as in *Europe*, since the Savages have no Artillery to attack them. They are so afraid of Fire-Arms, that none of those Nations ever durst attack [12] these mean Fortifications, except the *Iroquois*, who attempted to force the *French* in their Intrenchments in the Island of *Orleans*, now called *St. Lawrence* near *Quebec*. The *French* had fortified themselves with Pallisadoes, which the *Iroquois* set on Fire, and to cover themselves against the *French* in their Approach, every one of them carry'd before him a thick Plank or board Musket-proof, and thereby forced the *French* to leave their Entrenchments. They use also another Strategem against our Forts, unless they are defended by some Pieces of Cannon to keep them off; they tye to their Arrows a lighted Match, and then shoot them in such manner, as to make

them fall on the Top or Roof of the Forts, which is made of Planks, and thereby set them on Fire. *M. de la Salle*, who knew all their Artifices, took also all imaginable Precautions to disappoint them, which he did by covering the Roof with green Turf.

In the mean time, his men grew so sickly, that a great many died in a few days, notwithstanding they were carefully look'd after, and supplied with proper Remedies, and besides this misfortune, he was forc'd to make an open War against the Savages. On the 9th of *August* three of his men were gone a shooting, there being abundance of Game in those Parts. The noise of their Guns gave notice of their Approach to the Savages, who immediately got together in great numbers and surrounded the three *Europeans*, who put themselves in a readiness to fight, and killed with the first shot the General of the Savages. This sad accident terrified them so much, that they ran away, notwithstanding the Disproportion in number. They continued lurking about the Fort, and kill'd a *French* man who had advanc'd too far into the Woods.

M. de la Salle seeing no way to bring them to an Alliance, resolv'd to make War upon them to oblige them to come to Peace, and supply him with their [13] *Pyrogues* or Wooden Canou's which he wanted. Therefore set out from his Fort on the 13th of *October*, with 60 stout Men to look for the Savages, having provided them with a kind of Breast-piece of Wood, to cover them against the Arrows of the Savages. He was not far advanced when he found the Savages

incamped, with whom he had feveral Skirmifhes, killing and wounding a great many, and returned with many Prifoners eſpecially young Children; amongſt whom was a Girl of about four Years of Age, which was Chriſtened, and died ſome Days after.

While *M. de la Salle* was building and perfecting his Fort, thoſe Families he had brought to begin a Colony, grubb'd up the Land, and ſowed feveral forts of Corn and Pulſe, which they had brought in their Ear and Hulls, which ſucceeded very well. They made ſome Cannons, and croſſed over to the other ſide of the Bay, where they found a fine River, and a prodigious Number of wild Oxen and Turkeys. The tame Beaſts they had brought from *St. Domingo*, as Cows, Hogs, and Fowls multiplied very much; and in ſhort the ſmall Colony began to thrive, ſince the War had removed the Savages from their Habitations, and 'tis likely that *M. de la Salle* would have ſucceeded, had not a new Misfortune worſe than all the former, diſappointed his Noble Deſigns.

M. de la Salle had often entertain'd me with the unheard of Cruelties exerciſed by the *Spaniards* in *New Mexico*, and *Peru*, againſt the Inhabitants of thoſe vaſt Empires, whom they deſtroyed as much as ever they could, preſerving only their Children to make new People. He exclaimed againſt that Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, as unworthy of Men of Honour, and contrary to the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion. I blamed them my ſelf; but yet I offered now and then ſome Reaſons to excuſe them, as the Neceſſities [14] they found themſelves under of exterminating thoſe Nations, or perifhing

themselves, and forsaking their Conquest; for whenever they thought themselves safe, they were suddenly invaded by great Armies, and therefore in a perpetual Danger. *M. de la Salle* experienced himself that Necessity in *Canada*, for the Savages do not understand the Doctrine of forgiving or forgetting Injuries; and notwithstanding all Treaties of Peace, they will revenge themselves one time or other. The French of *Canada* have done all that is possible, humanly speaking, to gain the Friendship of the *Iroquois*, yet they have not been able to heal the first Breach that happened between them, which has been the Source of many Wars, which lasts at this very time; whereas that barbarous People has never had any quarrel with the Dutch inhabiting *New York*, because these have always used them very kindly, dissembling some insignificant Injuries, or accepting their satisfaction. *M. de la Salle* knew better than any Body the Temper of the Savages, and the Methods how to gain them; therefore I wonder that he would make Wars upon the Neighbours of his new Colony, for this was almost an infallible way to ruine it, and cut off the hope of the Conversion of those ignorant Nations. From these observations we may conclude, that Meekness and Charity so much recommended in the Gospel, are two Virtues absolutely necessary for the establishment of Colonies in those new Countries; for otherwise the new Inhabitants must destroy the Ancient, or be destroyed by them, either of which is a cruel Necessity unworthy of a Christian. *M. de la Salle* had ordered the Captain of the Frigate to found the Bay, and to suffer none of his Men to lie a-shoar; however the Captain

himself, and six of his best Men being charmed with the Sweetness of the Country went a-shoar, and leaving their Canou's upon the Owze with their Arms, went into a Meadow where [15] they fell asleep, and were murdered by the Savages, who broke their Arms and Canou. This sad Accident put the Colony in a dreadful Confarnation. M. *de la Salle* having buried his Men, resolv'd to travel along the Coast to find out the Mouth of the *Meschasipi*, and having left the Inhabitants and Soldiers who were to remain in the Fort, set out with 20 Men, and M. *Cavelier* his Brother.

This Bay of St. *Lewis* is formed by several Rivers, and lies in the Latitude of 27 Degrees 45 Minutes. None of these Rivers was broad and deep enough to be an Arm of the *Meschasipi*, but M. *de la Salle* thought they might be Branches of one of the Arms of that River, therefore he resolv'd to follow one of them, which cost him a world of Trouble, for he found several other Rivers running into that, too deep to be forded, which they cross'd, laying together several Branches of Trees, of which they made use instead of Boats. They met with several Nations of Savages and were forced to entrench themselves every Night, for fear of being surpris'd. The continual Rains that fell during his Voyage, made the ways very bad, and swell'd several small Rivulets, which increased his Trouble. At last, on the 13th of *February*, he thought to have found his so much wish'd for River; and having fortified a Post on its Bank, and left part of his Men for its security; he advanced farther into the Country, which appeared unto him the most delicious and fertile that ever he

saw. He visited several Nations who received him with much Humanity, and returned to his Fort on the 31st of *March*, charmed with his Discovery.

The satisfaction he expressed upon this account can hardly be expressed, but the Grief which the loss of his Frigate caused him, over-balance'd it. This was the only Ship left unto him, with which he intended to sail in few Days for *St. Domingo*, to [16] bring a new Supply of Men and Goods to carry on his Design; but it ran unfortunately a ground through the Negligence of the Pilot, and was dash'd in pieces. All the Men were drowned except the *Sieur Chefdeville* one of the Missionaries, the Captain and 4 Seamen; the Goods, Linen, and Cloath of the Colony, with the Provisions and Tools were absolutely lost. *M. de la Salle* was a Man of an extraordinary Courage, and unparallel'd Constancy; yet 'tis likely he would have sunk under this Misfortune, had not God assisted him in an extraordinary manner.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of the Misfortunes of M. de la Salle, with an Account of two Voyages he undertook to find out the Country of the Illinois.

THOSE who have conversed with Accounts of new Discoveries, are convinced that those who take upon them so difficult a Task, are obliged to do a thousand things, which prove useles and unnecessary; for looking for the right way, and no body being there to shew it unto them, 'tis no wonder if they mistake it. And as to the Misfortunes that befell the worthy Gentleman I speak of, it is nothing but what he, or any body else that shall go about the like Enterprise, must expect with a very inconsiderable Difference. The pious Design he was upon, in relation to the Conversion of those ignorant Nations, deserved it seems a better Fate; but as God's ways are not our ways, we must submit to Divine Providence, without troubling our selves about a vain inquiry into the Secrets of God Almighty. M. de la Salle who was a good Christian, knew admirably well the Practice [17] of this Doctrine, and without being dejected by the Misfortunes already mention'd, he resolv'd to go on with his Discovery.

As I am more concern'd than any body else to know

whether M. de la Salle had really discover'd the *Meschafipi*, when he return'd into *Canada* over land, because I am the first *European* that ever travell'd upon that River, I have carefully perused all the printed Accounts of his Voyage, as also private Memoirs, but after all, I found that the account published by Father *Anastase* is the most exact, and may be depended upon.¹

M. de la Salle seeing all his Affairs ruin'd by the loss of his Ships, and having no way to return into *Europe* but by *Canada*, resolv'd upon so dangerous a Journey, and took 20 men along with him, with one Savage call'd *Nikana*, that is to say, Companion of the Nation of *Choumon*.² This man had follow'd him into *France*, and had given such proofs of his Affection to his Master on several nice occasions, that he relied more upon him than upon any *European*. M. *Cavelier*, M. *Moranger*, and Father *Anastase* desir'd likewise to accompany him. They took four Pound of Powder, Shot in Proportion, two Axes, two Dozen of Knives, several Pound of *Rassade* or Glass Beads, and two Kettles to boil their Meat, contenting himself with these Provisions, in hopes to find out easily the *Illinois* and return in a short time. Having assisted at the divine Service in the Chapel of the Fort to implore God's Mercy and Protection, he set out the 22d of

¹ Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 397, note 2) regards the narrative of Henri Joutel (Paris, 1713) as the best; Douay's (given in Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, Shea's trans., ii, pp. 229-282), although brief, agrees therewith in essentials. Jean Cavelier's *Relation* (printed by Shea in 1858) is regarded by Parkman as somewhat inaccurate.—ED.

² A misprint for Chouanon (Shawnese).—ED.

April, 1686 directing his March to the North East, for the *Meschafipi* running directly from the North to the South, into the Gulph of *Mexico*, the Country of the *Illinois* is situated to the N. E. of the place where *M. de la Salle* left.

'Tis likely that they wanted Pyrogues and Canou's, since Father *Anastase* makes no mention of any, [18] and 'tis likely that *M. de la Salle* was not sure that he had found out the Mouth of the *Meschafipi*, for then he might have easily met with the *Illinois* by means of that River, knowing that the River of the *Illinois* runs into the *Meschafipi*.

After three days March, they discover'd the finest Campaign Country in the World, and were met by a great many men on Horse-back, with Boots, Spurs and Saddles. This Nation invited them to come to their Habitations, but *M. de la Salle* having taken some Informations from them concerning his way, thank'd them for their kindness, and would not accept of their Offers. The Reader may judge, that all this was transacted by signs, for they did not understand one another. The Equipage of the Nation sheweth they had Commerce with the *Spaniards*. Our men having continued their March all the day long, incamp'd upon a rising ground, which they fortified by cutting down some Trees to avoid any Surprize.

Having march'd two days through vast Meadows, they came upon the Banks of a River which they called *Robeck*, where they found such numbers of wild Oxen, call'd by the *Spaniards Cibola*, that the least Drove consisted of about 400:

They killed ten of them, and rested two or three days to broil the Meat for the rest of their Voyage.

Within a League and a half from the *Robeck* they met with another River broader and deeper than the *Seine* before *Paris*, its Banks being adorn'd with great Trees, so well dispos'd by Nature, that they seem as many Walks artificially planted. One side of the River is cover'd with Woods, and the other is a continued Meadow. They were oblig'd to cut Branches of Trees and tie them together to cross it over. They call'd it the *Wicked*.¹ The Country between this *Wicked* River and another they met few days after, is full of Trees, bearing all sorts of Fruit, [19] and especially of Mulberry-trees, but the Vines are so common, that the whole seems a Vineyard, and the highest Trees are cover'd with them. They call'd the last River *Hiens*, because one of them, a *German* by Birth, of the Country of *Wirtemberg*, stuck so fast in the Mud, that they had much ado to get him off.

The Raft or floating-boat of Branches, which they commonly us'd to cross the Rivers, taking up much of their time, and this River being narrow, *M. de la Salle* caus'd one of his men to swim over with an Ax, to fell down a Tree, while they fell another on their side, and these two Trees meeting together, made a kind of Bridge; this way was both safer and easier, and therefore they always made use of it, whenever the narrowness of the River would permit it.

M. de la Salle alter'd here his course, marching directly to

¹ Rivière Maligne, on early maps; apparently the Brazos River of Texas.—ED.

the Eastward. As he told no body the reasons of it, it is impossible to know what was his motive; that Man was secret to a fault, and likely would have prosper'd better, had he been somewhat more communicative. After some days March through a pleasant Country, they found another, which, according to their account, may be call'd the Paradise of the World, inhabited by a numerous Nation, who receiv'd them with all imaginable marks of Friendship and Kindness; their Women embrac'd them chearfully, and caus'd them to sit upon some fine Mats near their Captains, who presented them their *Calumet* of Peace, adorn'd with Feathers of several Colours, and wherein they desir'd them to smook. They presented them afterwards with a Dish of *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Pap made with the Root of a Shrub call'd *Tique* or *Toquo*, which looks like a Briar without Thorns:¹ Its Root is very big, and having wash'd it and dry'd it by the Sun, they pound it in a Mortar. This *Sagamittee* tasted pretty well. These honest [20] Savages presented them with some Skins of wild Oxen finely dress'd and good for Shooes, which are very necessary in that Country, because of some sharp cutting Herbs. M. *de la Salle* presented them, in return of their kindness, some Glafs Beads of black Colour, which is much valu'd amongst them, they continued some days amongst that Nation, which time M. *de la Salle* improv'd to give them some Idea of the Grandeur and Power of the King his

¹ Lucien Carr regards this (*Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, 1895, p. 168) as the tuckahoe, or koonti, of the South. This plant is an underground fungus (*Pachyma cocos*); it is bitter to the taste, but eatable when baked in hot ashes.—ED.

Master, whom he represented higher and greater than the Sun. These People understood something of it by his Signs, and were struck with a wonderful Admiracion. M. *Cavelier* and Father *Anastase* endeavour'd also to give them some Notions of God, but with what success no body can tell.

That Nation is call'd *Biskatronge*, but the *Europeans* call'd them the *Weeping*, and their River the River of *Tears*, because when they arriv'd there, those Savages wept for about a quarter of an Hour. They receive so all Strangers, whom they think to come from remote Countries, because this puts them in mind of their deceas'd Relations whom they think upon a long Journey, and whose return they expect. That honest People gave M. *de la Salle* some Guides, and supply'd his men with whatever they wanted, and cross'd them over their River in their Pyrogues.

They pass'd three or four other Rivers in three days time, and met with no considerable adventure, but on the fourth day as they were near a Village, *Nikana* the Savage, who attended M. *de la Salle*, shot a wild Goat, which frighted so much the Inhabitants of that Village, that they ran away. M. *de la Salle* put his men in a readiness to fight, and enter'd the said Village, which consisted of above 300 Cabbins. They march'd to the most considerable, wherein they found the Wife of the chief of the Savages, who had been forc'd to stay alone because of her great Age. M. *de la* [21] *Salle* made the most significant Signs he could think on to let her know that he was a Friend, which being perceiv'd by her three Sons, who advanc'd as near as they could without being

discover'd, to observe what our men would do, they brought back their men, and offer'd M. *de la Salle* their *Calumet* of Peace, which being accepted, the day was concluded with the Dance of the *Calumet* and other Demonstrations of Joy.

However M. *de la Salle* did not think fit to trust himself in their hands, and therefore refused to lie in their Cabbins and went to encamp among some Canes or great Reeds hard by, through which it was impossible to come without making a great noise. This was a Masterpiece of Prudence, for otherwise they might have been murther'd; for a Band of Savages got together to surprize them: The ratling noise of the Canes having given notice of their Approach to M. *de la Salle*, he awaked his men, and spoke in so bold a Tone to the Savages that they retir'd. They left that place the next day, parting from them very civilly, and having march'd six Leagues further, they were met by another Band of Savages, who had Ears of *Indian* Corn in their Hands; they embrac'd M. *de la Salle* according to their way, and invited him by Signs to go to their Village, which he consented to. They made him understand, that there was a Nation to the Westward who destroyed all other men; and by the Description they made, he judg'd they meant the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, with whom this Nation was at War. The Village having notice of the Arrival of M. *de la Salle*, all flock'd about them, expressing their joy by Signs and other Postures, and making him understand that he would oblige them to remain with them to assist them against their Enemies: M. *de la Salle* would not agree to that, but promis'd to return in a

short time, with a greater number of men; [22] and after having made them some Presents and receiv'd other things they gave them, he left that place, the Savages carrying him and all his men over their River in their Pyrogues. This Nation is called *Kirononas*.

They continued their March to the Eastward through fine Meadows, and three days after, having left the *Kirononas*, *Nikana* their Savage cry'd out of a sudden that he was a dead man, having been stung by a *Rattle-Snake*. This sad accident oblig'd them to tarry some days in that place: They gave him immediately some Orvietan, and having scarified the Wound, they apply'd upon it some Salt of Vipers, whereby he was recover'd.

CHAP. IV.

A Continuation of M. de la Salle's Voyage and Discovery; and how he was receiv'd by the Savages Cenis.

THEY march'd several days without meeting with any Savages or any Accidents, and came to a River very broad and rapid, which they judg'd to be near the Sea: They made a Raft to cross it, and M. *de la Salle*, and M. *Cavelier*, and part of his men ventur'd upon that floating Boat, which the Rapidity of the Stream carry'd down with such a violence, that they were in few minutes out of sight, leaving their Comrades on the shore under an unspeakable Grief. Father *Anastase* comforted them as much as he could, being himself under a great affliction; for besides their Savage, who was of great use to them, had lost his way, and was wandering in the Woods: They continued in that condition all the day, but in [23] the Evening they heard M. *de la Salle* hailing them from the other Shore. Their Raft had been stopp'd by a Sand in the middle of the River, which gave them time to recover their strength, in so much, that they master'd the Current and got happily over; tho' one of them attempting to catch a Branch of a Tree, fell into the Water and was carry'd away. They thought him drown'd, but being an excellent Swimmer, and knowing it was in vain to strive

againſt the Stream, but by degrees he was carry'd down a great way, and at laſt got a-ſhore and rejoyn'd Father *Anaſtaſe* and his Companions, who having eat nothing all day long, were exceeding hungry. They found no Game about them, and wanting all manner of Proviſions, they were reduc'd to a great Extremity: the divine Providence, who takes care of the meanest of his Creatures, reliev'd them also at this time, two young Eagles fell from a Cedar, which afforded them a Meal, tho' it was but a ſmall matter for ten almost ſtarv'd Travellers.

They tarry'd in that place that night, and the next day they endeavour'd to croſs the River, and by the advice of *M. de la Salle*, they made a Raft of Canes, which with the help of two men that ſwam to defend it againſt the Rapidity of the Stream, they got all over except their Savage. Being thus rejoyn'd they march'd two days through a Forest of Canes, through which they were forced to cut their way with their Axes, and on the third day they found *Nikana* with three wild Goats already broyl'd, and another which he had juſt kill'd. *M. de la Salle* ordered two or three Guns to be fir'd to ſhew his Joy.

Having refresh'd themſelves they continu'd their March Eaſtward, travelling through a moſt delicious Country, where they found Savages, who had nothing barbarous but their Name. They met one of them who came from ſhooting with his Wife and Family; [24] he preſented *M. de la Salle* with a Horſe and ſome Fleſh, deſiring him by ſigns to go along with him to his Habitation, and left he ſhould have any Suſ-

pcion, he left his Wife and Family with him, and went to his Village, where he was accompany'd by *Nikana*, and a Footman of *M. de la Salle*. They return'd two days after with two Horfes loaded with Provisions, and acquainted their Master with the civility of that People, who sent their chief Commanders and young Warriors to complement them. They were handsomly cover'd with drefs'd Skins, adorned with Feathers of different Colours. *M. de la Salle* thought fit to advance, and within three Leagues of the Village he met the Savages, who presented them their *Calumet* of Peace in great Ceremony. They conducted them in triumph to the Cabbin of their General, where a great number of People came to see them. *M. de la Salle* observ'd that the young Warriours mounted the Guard and were reliev'd by turns. The great civility of that People oblig'd *M. de la Salle* to leave the Village and encamp about two Miles off, for having observ'd that the Women were exceeding kind to them, and pretty handsom, he was afraid his men would be debauch'd, which might have been of a fatal consequence. They tarry'd there four days, and bought some Horfes for some of our *European* Commodities.

This Village belongs to the *Cenis*,¹ and is one of the most populous and largest of *America*, being about 20 Leagues long, not in a continued Street, but because the Hamblets are so near one another, that the whole looks as if it were but one. Their Cabbins are extraordinary fine, of about 50 Foot

¹ A Pawnee tribe (of the Caddoan family), then located on the Trinity River, Texas, but now extinct.—ED.

long, and built as Bee-Hives. They plant Trees round-about, whose Branches joyn over their Cabins, and which they tie together: Their Beds are placed round-about their Cabins, four Foot higher than the floor, and they [25] make their Fire in the middle. Each Cabin is for two Families. They found amongst them several things which they must have from the *Spaniards*, as some Pieces of Eight, Silver Spoons, Lace, Cloaths and Horses. They had also a Bull of the Pope, exempting the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* from fasting in Summer time. How they came by it, they could never understand. The Horses are so common, that one of *M. de la Salle's* men had one given him for his Ax, and another offer'd a fine one for Father *Anastase's* Capuch. They have however no direct Trade with the *Spaniards*, but get these things from the *Choumans*¹ their Allies, who being Neighbours of the *Europeans* are often in War with them. *M. de la Salle* having always the Mines of *St. Barbe* in his Thoughts, desir'd them by Signs to draw a Map of the Country, and the Course of their River, which they understood, and with a Piece of Coal, they made on the white Bark of a Tree a Description of their Country and River, that *M. de la Salle* understood they were within six days journey from the *Spaniards*, whom they knew, their Warriors going often to assist the *Choumans* against them.

M. de la Salle, who had a particular art to gain the Friendship of the Savages, told them a great many things of the

¹The Comanches, a Shoshonean tribe, whose habitat was on the upper waters of the Arkansas, Red, and Rio Grande rivers.—ED.

Grandeur of the King his Master, whom he represented as the greatest Captain of the World, and as much above the *Spaniards* as the Sun above the Earth: he gave them an account of his signal Victories: At which, says Father *Anastase*, they put their Fingers upon their Mouth to express their Admiration: but seeing M. *de la Salle* did not speak their Language, I would fain know how the *Cenis* understood the account he gave them of the glorious Actions of the King of *France*. Surely this is a Fiction, or at best, too long a Comment upon a Conversation which was acted by signs; and Father *Anastase* [26] might have spar'd this Reflection upon the *Spaniards*, for tho' the King of *France* is a great Monarch, yet the King of *Spain* possesses such Countries in the old and new World, that no Prince can be compar'd to him in that respect, and the Motto of the Catholick Kings, *Sol mihi nunquam occidit*, may be more easily justified, than the *Nec pluribus impar* of the King of *France*. Those who will consider the extent of the Dominions of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, will find that they are above 2500 Leagues in length, which I think the great Master of M. *de la Salle* can never match.

There were at that time some Ambassadors of the *Choumans*, at the Village of the *Cenis*, who paid a Visit to M. *de la Salle*, and at their coming in made the Sign of the Cross, and kneeling down kissed Father *Anastase's* Gown, lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and giving them to understand, that Men cloathed with like Habits taught their Neighbours.

They made such signs as convinced the French that they had been at Mass; and one of them drew with a Coal a tall Woman weeping at the Foot of the Cross, for the Death of her Son who was nail'd to it. This he must needs have seen over an Altar in the Spanish Churches, and 'tis no wonder if they knew Father *Anastase's* Gown, for the *Franciscans* are very numerous in that Country. Our Authour adds, that they told M. *de la Salle*, that the *Spaniards* made a great slaughter of the *Indians*, and that if he would go along with them with his fire Arms, it would be easie to conquer them, seeing they are Cowards, and so Effeminate as to have two Men before them, when they walk in Summer-time each with a large Fann to refresh them.

This puts me in mind of several Conversations which I had with M. *de la Salle*, at Fort *Frontenac* concerning our Discoveries, and speaking of Missionaries and the Qualities they ought to have, I remember [27] he told me often that the Jesuits of the Colledge of *Goa* in the East-Indies, which was given them by a Bp [Bishop] of the Order of St. *Francis*, and whose Revenues amount now to a prodigious Summ, travel in a Litter, where they perform this Mission, having two Men on each side to cool them with a Fann. This he knew from some of those Jesuits themselves, but as he had left this Society, I did not altogether believe what he told me of it; but I wonder that Father *Anastase* would charge upon the *Spaniards* of New *Mexico*, what M. *de la Salle* told me of the Jesuits of *Goa*. The reason may be easily discover'd,

the *Spaniards* will either scorn this Reflection, or let it go without Vengeance, whereas the *Jesuits* are never affronted with Impunity.

M. de la Salle having tarried several Days among the *Cenis*, continued his March through the Habitations of the *Nassonis*; these two Nations are in confederacy, and divided by a large River,¹ on the Banks of which the Villages are situated: They have much the same customs and manners.

Within five Leagues of that Place four of *M. de la Salle*'s men ran away to the *Nassonis*, which sadly vex'd him; and few Days after, he together with *M. Moranger* his Nephew, fell sick of a violent Fever, which obliged our Travellers to tarry in that Place for several Weeks, for notwithstanding they recover'd, it was a long time before they were able to continue their Voyage. This Distemper disappointed all their measures, and was the occasion of several misfortunes that befell them afterwards. They tarried there two whole Months, being reduc'd to the greatest Extremities; their Powder was most spent, tho' they were not advanced above 150 Leagues in a direct Line; some of their men had deserted, others began to be irresolute; and all these things being carefully consider'd by *M. de la Salle*, he resolv'd to return to Fort *Lewis*. [28] Every body approv'd his Design, and so they returned the same way without meeting with any remarkable Accident, except that one of them was swallowed

¹ Either the *Neches* or the *Sabine River*. The *Nassonis* (*Assony*) were apparently a *Caddoan* tribe.—ED.

by a Crocodile of a prodigious Size, as they repassed the *Wicked River*.

They returned to their Camp the 17th of *October* 1686, being received with an incredible Joy by their Companions, who thought them as good as lost amongst these barbarous Nations.

CHAP. V.

A Short Description of Fort Lewis, of its advantageous Situation, and of the Fertility of the Country about it.

WHAT has been already observed is enough to shew the Character of M. *de la Salle*, and that never Traveller was more undaunted, and constant in his undertakings than him. All the misfortunes and accidents we have mention'd, were not enough to deject his Courage, nor deterr him from his former Designs, in which through the Grace of God he expected to succeed.

He remained two Months and a half at Fort *Lewis*, during which time he took a view of all the Rivers that run into that Bay, and found above 50 which are Navigable, if we may believe Father *Anastase*, who was with him: They come most of them from the West and North-West. The Fort is situated in a sandy Ground, but the Soil about is very fertile. There are large Meadows in which the Grass grows as high as our Wheat in *Europe*. These Rivers are very frequent, being commonly at 2 or 3 Leagues distance. Their Banks are adorn'd with Oak, Mulberry-Trees, [29] and other Sorts of Trees, some whereof are altogether unknown in *Europe*. The Country is all alike going to the Westward, till within two Day's Journey of the *Spaniards*.

This Fort is situated on a rising Ground, on the Bank of

a River, having the Sea to the South-East, the Meadows to the West, and two large Ponds, and a Forest to the South-West; the nearest Neighbours are the *Guaquis*, who have abundance of Horses, and the *Babamos* and *Guinets*, who are wandering Nations, with whom *M. de la Salles* was in War. He forgot nothing during that time to comfort his small Colony, which began to multiply, several Children being born since their Arrival. He employed his men about grubbing up the Lands, which as I have said, proved very good and fertile. In the mean time our Missionaries applied themselves to the Instruction of some Savage Families, who left their own Nation to live with the *Europeans*. *M. de la Salle* us'd them with all possible kindness, knowing how advantageous it would be to win those barbarous Nations over to his Interest.

M. de la Salle having cast up an Intrenchment about a large Inclosure, wherein were the Habitations of the Colony, under the Cannon of the Fort, and taken all other precautions for their Security, called the Inhabitants together, and made so pathetical a Speech to them about the Necessity he was under to make a Voyage to the *Illinois* Country, that he drew Tears from every one of the Assembly, considering the Danger and Fatigue of so great a Voyage, for he was very much beloved. He took 20 men with him with his Brother, his two Nephews, Father *Anastase*, and one *Joustel à Ploto*; and after publick Prayers, he set out a second time from Fort *Lewis*, resolv'd not to return till he had found the *Illinois*.

[30] CHAP. VI.

An Account of M. de la Salle's second Voyage, from the Bay of St. Lewis, to the Illinois.

M. DE LA SALLE with 20 men set out from his Fort on the 7th of January 1687, and met the first Day a great Band of *Babamos*, who were going upon a military Expedition against the Savages, called *Trigoanna*. He made alliance with them, and designed to do the like with the *Guinets*, whom he met also, but they ran away upon his approach: However having overtaken them by means of his Horses, they agreed together, and promised on both sides an inviolable Peace.

They continued their March to the North-East, and crossed the first River, which they had called before the River of *Canes*, because the Banks of it are covered with them. The Country is diversified with Meadows and Woods, and the Soil is so fertile, that Grass grows 10 or 12 Foot high. There are several populous Villages of Savages upon that River, but they visited only the *Guaras* and *Anachorema*. They crossed the second River of *Canes*, distant 3 Leagues from the former.¹ Its Banks are inhabited by several different Nations, and the Country is full of Hemp which

¹ Probably the Colorado of Texas.—ED.

grows naturally in those Parts. They met 5 Leagues further another River call'd *Sablonniere*, because it flows through a sandy ground, tho' the Grasse of the Meadows near its Banks sheweth the Fertility of the Soil.

Having pass'd three or four small Rivers, they found 8 Leagues from the *Sablonniere* the River *Robeck*,¹ whose Banks are peopled with several Villages of Savages, who speak, in a manner from their Throat. They are in War with the *Spaniards*, and desir'd M. [31] *de la Salle* to joyn with them, but he had business else where, and with 20 men alone he was not able to do any great things against the *Spaniards*. He remain'd five or six days with them, and from thence continued his march to the *Wicked River*, so called, because a Crocodile had devour'd one of his men. That River has a long course, and is inhabited by 40 Villages of Savages, which compose the Nation *Kanoatinno*, which are likewise at War with the *Spaniards*. They went through some of their Villages where they were kindly receiv'd; tho', if we may believe Father *Anastase*, the cruelties of the *Spaniards* have somewhat chang'd their good Nature into fierceness. This, I take to be M. *de la Salle*'s Opinion; for in all his Travels he endeavour'd to represent the *Spaniards* as the most odious and cruel Nation in the World. I must own, as I have already intimated, that the *Spaniards* were forc'd to destroy several Nations in *New Mexico*, but they were oblig'd to it to preserve themselves against them, for else the Natives

¹ Thus named from a river in the vicinity of Rouen, France; it may have been the St. Bernard.— Ed.

would have destroy'd them. 'Tis certain, that the Savages have no kindness for the *Europeans*, and keep fair with them, only as long as they fear them. But I wonder, that *M. de la Salle* should blame so much the *Spaniards*, and yet form the Enterprize he was about, seeing it was impossible for him to succeed without destroying the *Spaniards* themselves; and as to their Tyranny, I remember to have convinc'd him more than once, that the *Spanish* Domination is easier and milder than any other he could name.

M. de la Salle having got some Horses from those Savages, crossed the River in Canou's made of Skins of wild Oxen, the Horses swimming over; and four Leagues from thence cross'd the River *Hiens* or *Hans*, already mention'd, continuing their march to the North-East. They cross'd several other Rivers and Brooks, which were mightily swoln by the Rains [32] that fall in that Country about that time, which is their Winter, the difference of Seasons being only known by those Rains. The Country they travell'd through is diversified with Meadows, Woods, Groves, Hills and Springs. They came at last to three great Villages call'd *Taraba*, *Tyakappan* and *Palonna*, where they found good Horses. They met some Leagues further the *Palaqueffons*, a People compos'd of ten Villages. These are in Alliance with the *Spaniards*.

I cannot but wonder at Father *Anastase's* neglecting to make a more exact Diary of their Voyage, and to be more particular about so many different Nations he speaks off, and therefore I desire the Reader to give me leave to make now

and then some Reflections upon this Voyage of M. *de la Salle*, having so intimately known that Gentleman, and travell'd so long with him in *America*. My Description of *Louisiana*, which I printed at *Paris*, did him a very great kindness in relation to his Enterprize.

[33] CHAP. VII.

M. de la Salle and three more are unfortunately murtber'd by some of their own Party.

AFTER they had gone through so many different Nations as is above related, there fell out a most unhappy Accident, to wit, the Affassination of *M. de la Salle*, his Nephew *Moranger*, and some others. *M. de la Salle* was then in a fine Country for hunting: His People regal'd themselves very plentifully, and refresh'd themselves after their tiresome Travel with excellent good Chear for several days together: He had sent *M. Moranger* his Nephew, his Laquey *Saget*, and seven or eight of his men to a certain place, where *Nika* his Huntsman, who was a Savage *Cbaouenon* had laid up a stock of wild Bulls Flesh, that they might get it smoak'd and dry'd to carry along with them, and so not be oblig'd to halt so frequently to hunt for Provisions.

With all his Prudence, *M. de la Salle* could not discover the Conspiracy of some of his People to kill his Nephew, for they resolv'd upon it, and put it in Execution all of a sudden on the 17th of *March*, wounding him in the head with a Hatchet. The Blow was struck by a Person whom Father *Anastafius* out of Charity would not name; they slew likewise the Laquey and poor *Nika*, who had provided for them by



The Murder of Mons.^r de la Salle

M. Vander gucht Scul:

his Hunting for three years together with toil and danger: *Moranger* languished under his Wound for two Hours, during which time, he gave all possible tokens of his Piety, forgiving his Murtherers, and embracing them frequently, resigning himself up to God's good Pleasure, and relying upon his Saviour's Merits, as his very Murtherers acknowledg'd, when their [34] Rage was cool'd: He was a very honest man and a good Christian.

These Wretches not content with this bloody Fact, resolv'd not to stick there, but contriv'd how to kill their Master too, for they fear'd he would have justly punish'd them for their Crime. Father *Anastafius* says, They were two Leagues off the place where *Moranger* was kill'd, and that *M. de la Salle* being concern'd at his Nephews tarrying so long (for they had been gone two or three days) was afraid they might have been surpriz'd by some Party of the Savages; whereupon he desir'd Father *Anastafius* to go with him to look after his Nephew, and took two Savages along with him; upon the way *M. de la Salle* entertain'd 'em with a pious Discourse of Grace and Predestination; but chiefly he enlarg'd upon the great Obligations he was under to divine Providence for preserving him in the many dangers he had undergone during a twenty Years abode in *America*, nine of which he spent in travelling, and I with him; he seem'd to be peculiarly affected with God's Goodness to him, when all of a sudden, Father *Anastafius* observ'd that he fell into a deep Sorrow of which he himself could give no account; he grew mighty unquiet and full of trouble, a temper he was

never seen in before; Father *Anastafius* did all he could to recover him out of it.

They were got about two Leagues, when he found his Lacquey's bloody Cravat, and perceiv'd two Eagles (a common Bird in those parts) hovering over his head, at the same time he spied his People by the Water-side: he went up to them and enquired for his Nephew, they made him little answer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father *Anastafius* kept going on by the River side, till at last they came to the fatal place, where two of the Villains lay hid in the Grass, one on one side, and one on the other, with [35] their Pieces cock'd, the first presented at M. *de la Salle* but mis'd Fire, the other fired at the same time, and shot him into the head, of which he dy'd an Hour after, *March* 19. 1687.¹

Father *Anastafius* expected the same fate, but did not reflect upon the danger he was in; he was sensibly touch'd at this cruel Spectacle, seeing M. *de la Salle* fall a little way off from him with his Face all bloody; he ran to him, took him up in his Arms, and wept over him, exhorting him as well as he could in this Conjunction to die like a good Christian; the unfortunate Gentleman had been at his Devotions just before they set out, and had just time enough to confess part of his Life to Father *Anastafius*, who gave him Absolution, and soon after he died: In these his last Moments he perform'd as far as he was capable what soever was proper for one in his condition, he press'd the Father's hand at every

¹ On early eighteenth-century maps, the locality of the assassination is marked on a southern branch of Trinity River.—ED.

thing he said to him, especially when he admonish'd him to forgive his Enemies; mean while the Murtherers struck with Horror at what they had committed, began to beat their Breasts, and detest their Rashness. Father *Anastafius* would not stir from the place till he had bury'd the Body as decently as he could, and plac'd a Cross over his Grave.

Thus fell the Sieur *Robert Cavalier de la Salle*, a Man of considerable Merit, constant in Adversities, fearless, generous, courteous, ingenious, learned and capable of every thing; he labour'd for twenty years together to civilize the savage Humours and Manners of a great number of barbarous People among whom he travell'd, and had the ill hap to be massacred by his own Servants, whom he had enrich'd: he dy'd in the Vigour of his Age in the middle of his Course, before he could execute the designs he had form'd upon *New Mexico*.

[36] CHAP. VIII.

The Author's Reflections upon the Life and Death of M. de la Salle, whose Murtherers kill'd one another.

M. DE LA SALLE told me several times, whilst we were together in Fort *Frontenac*, before we went upon our Discoveries, and also when we were in pursuit of them, that when he was a Jesuit, having liv'd 10 or 11 years in that Order, the Fathers of that Society caus'd frequent Lectures to be read during the first two Years to all those that enter'd into the Society, of the tragical Deaths and fatal Miscarriages that overtook such as had quitted their Order; and this was done to fix those that were newly entred; I ought to say this out of Justice to M. *de la Salle*, who formerly deposited in my hands all his Papers, whilst he took a Voyage to *France*, and I staid at Fort *Frontenac*, that he quitted his Order with the consent of his Superiours, and that he had written Testimonials of his good Conduct during his stay in that Society. He shew'd me a Letter written at *Rome* by the General of that Order, wherein he testified that the said *Sieur de la Salle* had behav'd himself prudently in every thing without giving the least occasion to be suspected guilty of a venial Sin.

I have a hundred times reflected upon what he has said to me, when we entertain'd our selves with the Stories of our

new Discoveries, and I ador'd God for the unsearchableness of his ways, who accomplishes his Will by those means he is pleas'd to appoint; and uncertain as I was of my Destiny, I gave my self up to his good pleasure, resolv'd to submit patiently in every thing to his divine Providence. Father *Anastafius* [37] arriv'd at length where was M. *Cavelier*, a Priest, Brother of the Defunct M. *de la Salle*, to whom he related his Death, the Murtherers came rudely into the same Cabbin or Hut presently after, and seiz'd upon all they found in it, the good Father had not leisure for a long Harangue, but his Countenance bath'd in Tears, was a sufficient Intimation of what he had to say: M. *Cavelier* at first sight of him, cry'd out, ah! my Brother is dead. I cannot forbear presenting the publick with some account of this Priest, M. *Cavelier*, with whom I sojourn'd in *Canada* during one Summer of my Mission to Fort *Frontenac*, of which his Brother was Governour and Proprietor. He was a pious and discreet Ecclesiastick, perfectly qualified for a Missionary: He no sooner heard this fatal News, but he fell down upon his Knees, and so did the *Sieur Cavelier* his Nephew, expecting the Villains came to butcher them, and therefore prepar'd themselves to die like Christians; but the Assassines mov'd with Compassion at the sight of the venerable old Man, and being sorry besides for their late wicked Deeds, resolv'd to spare them, upon condition that they should never return into *France*, but they were a long time e'er they fixt upon granting them Mercy; some of them that had a mind to see their Kindred once again, endeavour'd as well as they could

to clear themselves from fo deteftable an Action; others faid, 'twas fafeft to rid their hands of thefe two innocent men, or elfe they might one day call them to an account, if ever they met again in *France*.

They chofe for their Leader the Murtherer of *M. de la Salle*, and upon Deliberation they refolv'd to go to the famous Nation of the *Cenis* already fpoken of; fo they march'd altogether for feveral days, and pafs'd divers Rivers. Thefe infamous Murtherers made the two *Caveliers* ferve them as Valets, and gave them nothing but their leavings to eat. They arriv'd without [38] any rub at the place they wifh'd for. A Conteft rife betwixt a *German* of *Wittemburg*, nam'd *Hans*, and him that murther'd *M. de la Salle*, about the Superiority of Command, upon this their men divide themfelves into two Parties, one follows *Hans*, the other the Murtherer. They were come away from the *Cenis* amongft whom they tarry'd fome time, and arriv'd at the *Naffonis*, where the four Deferters whom I mention'd before, rejoyn'd them. Thus they were all got together upon *Ascenfion Eve*, and the Quarrel betwixt the two Parties, being blown up to that height, that they determin'd to murther one another, Father *Anaftafius* made an Exhortation to them upon the Festival day, with which they feem'd to be fo touch'd, that they made as if they would confefs themfelves; but they did not continue long in that mind. Thofe that moft regretted their Mafters murther, took to *Hans's* fide. This man two days after taking his opportunity, punifh'd one crime with another, for he fir'd a

Pistol at the Murtherer of *M. de la Salle*, the Bullet peirc'd his Heart, and he drop'd dead upon the place. One of *Hans's* Crew shot him that kill'd *M. Moranger* in the side, and before he could well recover himself, another let fly just at his Head, there was no Ball in his Musket, but the Powder set fire to his Hair, which catch'd his Shirt and Cloaths with so much violence and quickness, that he could not put it out, but expir'd in the Flame. The third Conspirator took to his Heels and sav'd himself; *Hans* was mighty eager to make sure of him, and finish in his Death, the vengeance due to *M. de la Salle*; but the *Sieur Joutel* made 'em Friends, and so the matter rested for that time.

Thus *Hans* became the chief Leader of this miserable Troop; they resolv'd to return to the *Cenis*, amongst whom they design'd to settle, for they durst not venture back into *Europe* for fear of meeting the punishment [39] their Crimes deserv'd: At that time the *Cenis* were up in arms and ready to march out to fight with the *Kanoatinno* a cruel People, their implacable Enemies. When they take any Prisoners, they throw them alive into a Caldron and boyl them. The *Cenis* then took *Hans* and some other *Europeans* along with them, the rest waited till they should return, though *Hans* would fain have perswaded them all to go, but they would not stir. When *Hans* was gone, they departed out of the Country of the *Cenis*, and amongst 'em were the two *Caveliers*, the *Sieur Joutel*, Father *Anastafius* and others; each had his Horse, Powder, and Lead, with some Goods to defray their

Charges upon the way; they made a halt in the Country of the *Naffonis* to celebrate the *Octave* of *la fete dieu*. In their Relations, they say, that the people entertain'd them perpetually with Stories of the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards the *Americans*, and told them twenty several Nations were going to make war upon the *Spaniards*, and invited them to go along with them, because, said they, you will do more execution with your Guns, than all our Warriors with their Maces and Arrows. But they had other designs in their Heads, and took occasion in these Discourses to give them to understand that they were come amongst them by express order from God, to instruct them in the knowledge of the Truth, and set them right in the way to Salvation, and this was their employment for 10 or 12 days to the 3d of *June*.

I make no question, but M. *Cavelier* the Priest, and Father *Anastafius* endeavour'd to their utmost to give light to these *Naffonis* and deliver them out of their ignorance. But the four other *Europeans* that were in their company were not enough in number to terrifie the *Spaniards* who are us'd to fire-arms; besides they did not understand the Language of these [40] People, and therefore I cannot easily comprehend how they could gather from the Discourse of these *Naffonis*, that the *Spaniards* were so cruel to the *Americans*; they had no Interpreters along with them, so that they could not understand a word of what was said to them by these People, who had never seen any other *Europeans* before them.

Moreover 'tis certain, that since the days of the Emperour

Charles the Fifth, the *Spaniards* have not dar'd to execute any Cruelties upon the Natives of *New Mexico*, because they have too few of their own Subjects to guard their Conquests against the insults of their neighbouring *Indians*, were they irritated. No, they live peaceably with them, and trouble no body, unless they are first attack'd.

[41] CHAP. IX.

The Cenis permit M. Cavelier the Priest, and Father Anastafius with their Company, to continue their Journey thorough several barbarous Nations.

THE *Cenis* gave these six *Europeans* two Savages for Guides, who took their way thorough the finest Country in the World Northwards, and North-Eastwards; they pass'd over four great Rivers, and many Channels made by the Rain, inhabited by divers Nations Eastward, they came among the *Haquis*, the *Nabiri*, or the *Naanfi*, a valiant People at War with the *Cenis*, at length they arrived near the *Cadodacchos*,¹ June the 13th, one of their Guides went before to inform the Barbarians of their coming. The chief Men and the Youth, whom they found a League from their Village, receiv'd them with the *Calumet*, and gave them some Tobacco; some led their Horfes by the Bridle, and others carried them about in Triumph; they said they were Spirits come from the other World.

All the Village being come together, the Women according to their Custom wash'd their Heads and Feet with warm Water, after which they were seated upon a Bench cover'd

¹ The Caddoes, on Red River.—ED.

with neat white Mats; then they went to revelling, dancing to the *Calumet*, and made other publick rejoycings Day and Night. These People knew nothing of the *Europeans* but by Report, 'tis to be presum'd they have some shadow of Religion amongst 'em, but all their *Ideas* are very confus'd, and their Notions unaccountable, they seem to worship the Sun, because they send up the Smoak of their Tobacco to him, though they have their [42] share on't; their Ceremonial Habits have commonly two Suns described upon them, and upon the rest of the Body representations of wild Bulls, Deer, Serpents, or other Animals; the two religious *Europeans* took occasion from hence, to give them some Lessons concerning the true God, and the principal Mysteries of Christianity; 'tis to be suppos'd all this was done by Signs.

In this place God afflicted them by a Tragical Accident, the Sieur *Marne* maugre all Disswasions, would needs bath himself, *June* the 24th at Night. *M. Cavalier*, Nephew to *M. de la Salle* went along with him to the River-side, which lies pretty near the Village. *Marne* threw himself into the Water, and never came up again. 'Twas a Whirlpool that suck'd him in, and drowned him in a moment.

A little after his Body was drawn out of the Water, and carried to the Captain's House; all the Village lamented his Death: The Captain's Wife wrapt him up decently in a handsome Mat, while some young Men dug a Grave for him, which Father *Anastafius* blest; and then they committed him to the Earth with all possible Solemnity. The *Barbarians*

admir'd the Ceremonies of his Interment, and above all, the finging of the Pfalms at his Obsequies. Upon this they offer'd them instructions about the immortality of the Soul, and continued to teach them for Eight days, for so long they tarried after in that fatal Place; the dead Man was buried upon an Eminence near the Village, his Grave was fenc'd about with Pallifado's, and a great Crofs set up over it which was made by the Savages: They departed out of this Country, *July* the 2d.

These People dwell upon the Side of a River, where three other Nations inhabit, the *Natchoos*, *Natchetes* and *Ouidiches*. The Travellers were receiv'd very kindly by all of them. From the River of [43] the *Cenis*, where they first met with Beavers and Otters; the farther they advanced Northward, the greater Number they found of those Animals. Whilst they sojourned among the *Ouidiches*, they met with three Warriours of two Nations call'd the *Cabinnio*, and the *Mentous*, who dwelt twenty five Leagues farther, East-North-East, and had seen some Frenchmen. They offer'd to conduct 'em to their Countrymen, and by the way they cross'd four Rivers and Brooks, or Torrents made by the Rain, there they were receiv'd by these Nations with the *Calumet* of Peace in their Hands, with all possible Tokens of Gladness and Esteem. Many of these Savages talkt to 'em of an *European*, who was a Captain, and had but one Hand; this was the *Sieur de Tonti* a Neapolitan, mention'd in my first Volume. They added, that he told 'em, that a greater Captain than himself would

probably pass by their Village; meaning the *Sieur de la Salle*.

The chief Man among them lodg'd them in his Cabbin or Hutt, and made his Family go out of it; there they were treated several Days with all sorts of good Cheer. Nay, they order'd a solemn Feast to be kept publickly, wherein they danc'd to the *Calumet* four and twenty Hours together, and sung Songs made purposely for the occasion, which their Captain dictated to them as loud as he could, they entertain'd 'em as Envoys from the Sun, who came to defend them from their Enemies with Thunderbolts, meaning their Musquets which they had never seen before; in the heat of these rejoycings the younger *Cavelier* let off his Pistol three times, crying out *Vive le Roy*, which the Barbarians repeated with a loud Voice; adding, long live the Sun.

These Savages have a prodigious Number of Beavers and Otters in their Country, which might be easily exported by a River near the Village; these [44] Savages would have loaded their Horses with them, but they refus'd them to shew they were free from any Self design, and presented the Barbarians with Hatchets and Knives; at last they went away with two *Cabinnio*'s to guide them; after they had receiv'd the Ambassadors from the *Analau*, the *Tanico*, and other Nations Northwest, and South Westward, they travers'd for some Days the finest Country in the World full of Rivers, Meadows, little Woods, Hills, and Vineyards.

Among others they cross'd over four large Navigable Rivers, and after a March of about sixty Leagues, they came

to the *Offotteez*,¹ who dwell upon a Noble River running from the North-Weft, upon whose Banks grow the fineft Woods in the Univerfe.

The Skins of Beavers and Otters are every where found in fo great a Quantity, as well as all other kinds of Hides and Skins of Beasts, that they throw 'em all in a heap and burn them, of fo little value are they accounted. 'Tis upon the famous River of the *Akanfa* that fo many Villages ftand, as I mention'd in the firft Tome of my Discoveries.

Father *Anaftafius* fays in his Relation, that there they began to know where-about they were: At the fame time he knew very well, that neither he nor any Man in his Company had ever been upon the River *Mefchafipi*: Indeed I went up it by my felf, with two Indians in a Canou in 1680, and afterwards in 1682, M. *de la Salle* went up it as high as *Akanfa*: 'Tis highly probable, Father *Anaftafius* thought he was then at Fort *Crevecœur*, fituated in the Country of the *Illinois*, becaufe he found a great Crofs there, and beneath it the King of *France's* Arms; befides he faw a Houfe built after the *European* way, and upon this the Sieur *Joutel*, and two more that were left difcharged their Mufquets. At the Noife of the Guns out came two French *Canadans*, their Commander's [45] Name was M. *Couture*,² whom I knew particularly well

¹ The U-zú-ti-ú-hi (in nomenclature of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology; called by early writers Sitteou or Sauthois); a division of the Siouan Kwapa (Kappa) tribe (see p. 177, note 1, ante).—ED.

² Couture, a carpenter from Rouen, had accompanied Tonty in his fruitless search for La Salle (in the fpring of 1686). Tonty left fix of his men at the Indian villages on the Arkansas River; among thefe was Couture.—ED.

when I lived in *Canada*, and was one that made the Voyage along with us to discover the *Louifiana*. This M. *Couture* gave them to know, that he was Poſted there by the *Sieur de Tonti*, by order of M. *de la Salle*, to keep up an Alliance with the Neighbouring Savage Nations, and guard them againſt the Inſults of the *Iroquois*, their ſworn Foes.

They viſited three Villages, the *Forimans*, the *Dodinga*,¹ and the *Kappa*; they receiv'd 'em every where with Feaſts, Speeches, Dances, and all other Expreſſions of Joy. They were lodg'd in the Houſe belonging to this ſmall Fort. Theſe of *Canada* that were ſettled there entertain'd 'em very kindly, and made them Maſters of all. Whatever Affairs theſe Savages conteſted about they never decided them immediately, but ſummon'd together the Chief men, and the moſt Ancient of the Villages, and deliberated upon the matter in diſpute. Theſe Travellers aſk'd them for a *Pyrogue*, and ſome Savages in it to go up the River *Mefchapi*, as far as the *Illinois*, by the River of that Nation, which in my Map of *Louifiana*, I call the River of *Seignelay*, in honour to the Miniſter of State of that Name, who favour'd and took care about our Diſcovery. Father *Anaſtaſius* ſays they offer'd their Horſes, ſome Powder and Lead in exchange for the *Pyrogue*. After the Counſel had met upon this Subject, they came to a reſolution to grant them the *Pyrogue* they demanded, and four Savages to man it, one of each Nation to ſignify the

¹ Theſe names are more correctly given by the Jeſuit Paul de Poiſſon (*Jes. Relations*, lxxvii, p. 319), as *Tourimas* and *Tougingas*; they alſo were *Kwapa* bands.—ED.

strict Alliance they had made with them. This was punctually executed, so they dismiss'd the *Cabinnio* with Presents to their satisfaction.

Upon this Head I would observe, without pretending to reflect upon M. *de la Salle*, that he undoubtedly never found out the true Mouth of the River *Meschasipi*, nor Father *Anastafius* neither, who never [46] was in that Part of the Country; and if the last did luckily light upon it by help of the Savages that guided him, 'twas owing to the Directions he receiv'd from M. *Couture*, Commander of the *Skonce*¹; but it may be he will give us more light into this matter hereafter.

¹ Apparently a misprint for *Akansa*.—ED.

CHAP. X.

The Voyage of the Sieur Cavelier a Priest, and Father Anastasius a Recollect in a Pyroogue to the Illinois, and several Observations concerning their Return.

AFTER they had tarried a little time among these People, M. Cavelier, and Father Anastasius, Embarked in the River of *Meschasipi*, Aug. 1. they crossed the River the same Day in a *Pyroogue* of 40 Foot long. The stream was very strong in that Place, so they went all a-shoar to travel the rest of the Journey on Foot, because they had left their Horses at *Akanfa*, though they had done better perhaps to have kept them: They left no Soul in the *Pyroogue* but young Cavelier, whose tender Age joyn'd with the Fatigue of travelling so far, made him incapable of prosecuting the Journey on Foot. Father Anastasius thinks that from the place where they set out to the *Illinois*, they had 400 Leagues to march a foot before they could get thither; but all this is spoken by guefs.

One of the Savages went aboard the *Pyroogue* to steer it along the River, and one of his Comerades reliev'd him from time to time. The rest of the Company made no use of the *Pyroogue*, but only when they had occasion to avoid a dangerous Place, or cross any Rivers; [47] they underwent a great deal of Toil in this Voyage, the Heats were excessive in that

season, the sand was burnt by the Sun, but more than all, the want of Food, which they endur'd several days, reduc'd 'em to extreme hardship.

Father *Anastafius* adds, That they were got 200 Leagues over land from the Bay of *St. Louis*, that is to say, 100 Leagues to the *Cenis*, 60 to the North North-East, and 40 to the East North-East: from the *Naffonis* to the *Cadodacchos* 40 North North-Eastward, from the *Cadodacchos* to the *Cabinnio* and the *Mentous* 25 to the East North-East, and from the *Cabinnio* to the *Akanfa* 60 East North-East.

They continued their Progress up the River by the same way, that they had heard *M. de la Salle* went in 82, except that they went to *Sicacba*.¹ Father *Anastafius*, says *M. de la Salle* was not there. I made mention of this Nation in my Discovery in 80, in the preceding Volume; their principal Village is twenty five Leagues East from *Akanfa*. The People are robust and numerous, consisting at least of 4000 fighting Men: They have abundance of all sorts of Skins and Hides. Their Leaders often brought the *Calumet* to them to signify that they were willing to make an Alliance with them; nay they offer'd to go and settle themselves upon the River *Ouabache* to be nearer Fort *Crevecœur* in the Country of the *Illinois*, whither they were travelling.

This famous River of *Ouabache* [Ohio] is full as large as *Meschafipi*; a great many other Rivers run into it, the outlet where it discharges it self into *Meschafipi* is 200 Leagues

¹ A village of the Chicasas; the distance here given would locate it on the Yazoo River.—ED.

from *Akanfa* according to M. *de la Salle's* Computation; the truth is it is not so far cross the Country, but it may be as much in following the course of the River *Meschasipi*, which winds about very much. Straight over land 'tis not above 5 good days journey.

[48] They cross'd the River *Ouabache*, August 26. and found it full 60 Leagues along the River *Meschasipi* to the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, about 6 Leagues below the mouth of that River North-Westward, is the famous River of the *Maffourites* or the *Osages*, which is as large at least as the River it falls into. It is made up of several other known navigable Rivers inhabited by numerous Nations, as the *Panimaba*, who have but one Captain and 22 Villages, the least of which contains 200 Cabbins. The *Paneassa*, the *Pana*, the *Panaloga*, and the *Metotantes*, each of which is as considerable as the *Panimaba*.¹

The *Osages* have 17 Villages upon a River of their name, that discharges it self into that of the *Maffourites*. Our Maps and those of M. *de la Salle*, have placed the *Osages* there. Formerly the *Akanfa* dwelt a great way up one of these Rivers, which bears their name still, and which I take notice of about the midst of the passage of the River *Ouabache* to that of the *Maffourites*²; there lies the Cape of St. *Anthony of Padua*, and thereabouts live the Savage Nation of the *Mansopolea*.

¹ A reference to the various Pawnee tribes.—ED.

² Apparently this was the Saline River, which empties into the Mississippi a little below Ste. Genevieve, Mo. Although a small stream, it was regarded as important on account of the salt-springs near it; salt-works were established there at an early date.—ED.

Sept. 5. M. *Cavelier* and Father *Anastafius* arriv'd at the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*: 'tis reckon'd 100 Leagues from thence to Fort *Crevecœur*, as I remark'd in my first Volume. The passage all the way is clear and navigable by large Vessels. A *Chaouenon* nam'd *Turpin*, having seen them enter his Village, ran by land to carry the News to M. *Belle Fontaine*, Commander of that Fort; he could not believe what he told him, but they follow'd apace after the Barbarian, and came to the Fort, Sept. 14. presently they conducted them to the Chapel, where *Te Deum* was thankfully fung. The *Canadans* that were in the place, and some Savages fir'd Volleys of Muskets.

M. *de Tonti*, whom M. *de la Salle* design'd to be Commander of Fort *Crevecœur*, was gone among the [49] *Iroquois* to dispose those Barbarians to an Alliance. These Travellers were receiv'd with all the kindness imaginable, and M. *de Belle-Fountain* omitted no Testimony of his joy to see them safely arriv'd.

It must be confest, that no man can evade his Destiny. At the same time it must likewise be acknowledged that the Disaster of M. *de la Salle* had something very fatal in it; he undertook this great Voyage with design to find out the mouth of the River *Meschasipi*, but unfortunately fell by the way without succeeding in his enterprize, and yet just after his Death, his Brother, Father *Anastafius*, &c. went up that River and arriv'd at the *Illinois*.

'Tis indubitable, nevertheless, that there is an excellent Haven at the mouth of this River, as I observ'd in 80. The

entry into it is very convenient, as may be easily seen. Of the three arms that compose this out-let, I always follow'd the Channel of that in the middle. 'Tis a commodious Harbour, and has several places fit to raise Fortresses upon, that are in no danger of being overflow'd, as has formerly been thought. The lower part or mouth of the River is habitable, and is inhabited by several savage Nations that don't lie far from it. The greatest Vessels may go up above 200 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, as far as the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which River is navigable for above 100 Leagues, and discharges it self into the River *Meschasipi*. At the lower end of the River dwell several other Nations, which I forgot, as the *Picheno*, the *Ozanbogus*, the *Tangibao*, the *Otonika*, the *Movisa*, and many others, whose names easily escape ones Memory, when one passes through them without leisure, or conveniency to take necessary observations and notes.

'Tis probable that *M. de la Salle* not finding the Mouth of that River in the Sea, fancied that the Bay of *St. Lewis*, was not above 40 or 50 Leagues from the [50] Mouth of one of its Arms, at least in a strait line; but by misfortune he never was at it. God sets bounds to all Men, and their Enterprises, to all the desires of their Hearts, as well as to the vast Ocean.

Doubtless God permitted it so to be, that Father *Anastafius* who is now Vicar of the Recollects at *Cambray*, should discover 110 Nations in his Travels, without taking into the Number many more Savage People well known to those he

convers'd with *en passant*, because they traffick with them, which at the same time were never seen by any *European*.

These People, as I have already noted, have very good Horses, fit for any service in abundance. They think themselves well paid for a Horse, if one gives them a Hatchet.

Father *Anastafius* went from the Bay of St. *Lewis* to the Gulph of *Mexico* with design to settle a Mission among the *Cenis* in his 2d Voyage. Father *Zenobius Mambré* Recollect, who staid behind at the said Bay, was to have come and joyn'd him, to the end they might spread the Faith among the neighbouring Nations. They expected from *Europe* a great number of Labourers, but the death of M. *de la Salle* obliging him to proceed further he don't doubt but Father *Zenobius* has been there to look for him.

So it may be he is now in that Country with Father *Maximus* a Recollect and Native of *Lisle* in *Flanders*, and that they have left the *Sieur Chefdeville* a Missionary of St. *Sulpicius*, at the Mission of the Port in that Bay. He determin'd himself to be there, because there were nine or ten *European* Families there with their Children, besides some of M. *de la Salle's* men have marry'd with the Women of the Country to augment the little Colony. This is the Extract of Father *Anastafius's* account of his toilsome Voyage. What are become of the people left in those parts since that time, we know not.¹

¹In April, 1689, a Spanish expedition, commanded by Alonzo de Leon, reached La Salle's Fort St. Louis in Texas; they found that it had been captured, three months before, by the Tejas (Texas) Indians, who slew most of the remaining colonists. Leon ransomed the few survivors, who had been enslaved by the Indians.

[51] Father *Anastafius* conceal'd the deplorable Fate of M. *de la Salle*, because 'twas his duty as well as M. *Cavelier's* the Priest, to carry the first news of it to Court, and secure the effects of the deceas'd in the said Fort of the *Illinois*, because he advanc'd Money upon the enterprize.¹ He departed from the *Illinois* in the Spring, 1688, together with Father *Anastafius*, young *Cavelier*, M. *Joutel*, and one Barbarian, who dwells at present near *Versailles*; they arriv'd at *Quebec*, July 27, and set sail for *France* the 20th of *August* following. God granted them a favourable passage to *Paris*, after having run through incredible Dangers; and they gave an account of their Voyage to the late Marquis *de Seignelay*.

This is the story of M. *de la Salle's* last Voyage, which I thought my self oblig'd to give the world, because 'tis a continuation of mine, and confirms several things related in my account. I go on now to describe the Religion and Manners of those barbarous Nations, which I discover'd in my Voyage.

For more detailed accounts, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 442-446; and A. F. Bandelier's "Southwestern Historical Contributions," in *Papers* (Amer. series) of Archæological Institute of America, vol. v, pp. 180, 181.—ED.

¹ Not only Douay, but even Cavelier (La Salle's own brother), deceived Tonty in this matter, telling him that La Salle was well, and would soon return to Illinois. Apparently this was done that Cavelier might secure goods and money from Tonty in La Salle's name. See Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 435, 437.—ED.

[52] CHAP. XI.

The Author's Reflections upon the Voyage to China; the opinion of most of the Savages of North America concerning the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.

'TIS a common saying, that Truth is the very Soul and Effence of History: now this account of the Manners of the Savages of *North America* being taken sincerely, needs no other recommendation. Novelty and Variety joyn together to please the Reader, tho' I treat of barbarous unpolish'd People; and therefore I hope, that a Description of 200 different Nations, which I have either seen my self, or been inform'd of by some religious that have been among them, will divert the curious.

The Son of God having foretold, that his Gospel should be preach'd throughout the Universe, the faithfull have always interest'd themselves in forwarding the accomplishment of that Prophecy, and labour'd to convert those barbarous Nations who have no knowledge of the true God. 'Tis true, that multitude of savage People which inhabit the vast Countries of *America*, have had their Eyes shut against the Light of Truth: but we have already begun to preach Christ crucifi'd to them, to the best of our skill, that we might bring them to Salvation. We hope therefore that those who are stirr'd up by

the Love of God, will not be wanting for the future to finish what we have begun, but endeavour the Salvation [53] of so many Souls, who might not perish, if Christians would help them to get out of their natural Blindness. To clear the way, and direct the means to it, we are going to give an account of the Ideas these People have of Religion, and likewise of their Manners, that so we may the more readily contrive the method of their Conversion, and in what manner to instruct them, to render them capable of receiving the truth and eternal Salvation.

Our Discoveries have acquainted us with most part of *North America*, so that I don't question if the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of *Holland* should think fit to send us back thither to finish what we have so happily begun, but we should demonstrate what we could never yet give a clear account of, though many attempts have been made to it. It has been found impossible hitherto to go to *Japan* by the Frozen Sea; that Voyage has often been frustrated; and I am morally assur'd, that we can never succeed in it, till we have first discovered the Continent betwixt the Frozen Sea and *New Mexico*. I am perswaded that God preserv'd me in all the great dangers of my long Voyages, that I might perfect that happy Discovery; and I here offer my self to undertake it, not doubting the success of the Enterprize (God willing) provided I am furnish'd with convenient means.

I don't wonder, that the learned are at a loss how *America* was peopled, and that infinite number of Nations settled upon that vast Continent. *America* is half the terrestrial

Globe. The most expert Geographers are not thoroughly acquainted with it, and the inhabitants themselves, whom we discover'd, and who in all likelihood should know best, don't know [54] how their Ancestors came thither; and certainly if in *Europe* we wanted the Art of Writing (as those People do) which in a manner makes the dead live again, recalls what's past, and preserves the memory of things, I am afraid we should not be less ignorant than those Savages.

The greatest part of the Barbarians in *North America* have generally a Notion of some sort of Creation of the World; they say, Heaven, Earth and Mankind were made by a Woman, and that she and her Son govern the World, and for this reason, perhaps it is, that they reckon their Genealogies by Women. They say farther, that the Son is the Author of all good things, and the Woman of all Evil. That both of them enjoy perfect Felicity. The Woman, they say, fell out of Heaven big with Child, and lighted upon the back of a Tortoise, who sav'd her from drowning.¹ When we object against the Ridiculousness of their Belief, they usually answer, that such an Objection is of force with them that make it, but is of no weight against them, because they look upon themselves to be created after another manner than the *Europeans* are.

Other Savages upon the same Continent, are of opinion,

¹ This myth was current among the Huron tribes, and was related of a divinity named E-yä'-ta-hën-tsik (Ataentsic); her son was Iouskeha. They are regarded by Brinton as personifications of the moon and sun, respectively; and, by J. B. Hewitt, as representing the goddess of night and earth, and the reproductive power which pervades Nature. See *Jes. Relations*, viii, p. 303; x, 323.—ED.

that a certain Spirit call'd *Otkon* by the *Iroquois*, and *Atabauta* by the other Barbarians at the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*, is the Creator of the World, and that one *Messou* repair'd it after the Deluge. In this manner do they alter and confound by their Traditions that Knowledge of the univerfal Deluge, which their Ancestors probably had: they say, that this *Messou* or *Otkon* being a hunting one day, his Dogs loft themselves in a great Lake, which thereupon overflowing, cover'd the whole Earth in a [55] short time, and swallow'd up the World. They add, That this *Messou* or *Otkon* gather'd a little Earth together by the help of some Animals, and made use of this Earth to repair the World again.¹ They think the *Europeans* inhabit another World different from theirs; and when we go about to undeceive them, and teach them truly how the universe was created, they say all that may be true enough of the World we live upon, but 'tis quite another thing with theirs; Nay, they often ask us, whether we have a Sun and Moon in *Europe* as well as they.

There are another sort of Savages who dwell at the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence* and *Meschafipi*, that tell us a very odd Story; they say much like the former that a Woman came down from Heaven, and hover'd a while in the Air, because she could find no place to set her Foot upon. The Fish of the Sea compassionating her, held a Council to determine who should receive her. The Tortoise offer'd

¹ Messou (the same as Manabozhu and Michabou), a divinity revered among the Algonquian tribes. See *Jes. Relations*, index, under above names.—ED.

himself, and presented his Back above Water, the Woman plac'd her self upon it, and staid there. In time the Filth of the Sea gathering and settling about the Tortoise by little and little, form'd a great extent of Land, which at present is that we call *America*.

Now say they, this same Woman being uneasie at her living solitarily, and troubled to have no body to pass the time with, more agreeably than she did; there descended from on high a Spirit, who found her fallen asleep with melancholy; he approach'd her unperceiv'd, and from that Conjunction came forth two Sons out of her side; these two Children could never agree together after they were grown up. One was a better Hunter than t'other, and every day there was some scuffling between 'em. At length [56] their Animosities grew to that Extremity, that they could not endure one another: One of them especially was of a very violent humour, and had a mortal hatred for his Brother, who was better temper'd, the last unable any longer to submit to the rude behaviour, and ill treatment which the other bestow'd upon him perpetually, resolv'd to separate himself from him; so he flew up into Heaven, whence to denote his just resentment, he rattles his Thunder from time to time over his unhappy Brother's head.

Some time after the Spirit came down again to the Woman, and then she brought forth a Daughter from whom say the Savages is descended, that numerous People who now take up one of the largest Parts of the Universe.

How fabulous soever this Story be in it self, yet we may

discern a run of Truth in it. This Womans sleep and the Birth of two Sons, has something in it akin to *Adam's* sleep, whilst God took one of his Ribs to form *Eve*.

The disagreement of the two Brothers resembles the irreconcilable Hatred of *Cain* and *Abel*; the retreat of one of 'em to Heaven, represents the Death of *Abel*, and the Thunder grumbling in the Sky may be compar'd with the Curse pronounc'd by God, upon the wretched *Cain*, for inhumanly killing his Brother.

'Tis a lamentable thing to consider what wild Chimæra's the Devil puts in these People's heads. Tho' they believe that the Soul is Corporeal (for they understand nothing else by their *Otkon*, *Atabauta*, or *Manitou*,¹ but some material principal Being, that [57] gives life and motion to all things) nevertheless they profess their Belief of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Life to come, in which they shall enjoy all sorts of pleasure; as Hunting, and Fish in abundance, Corn for those that sow it, for some never sow Corn; Tobacco, and a thousand other Curiosities and Conveniencies. They say the Soul does not leave the Body as soon as it dies, and therefore they take care to lay by the Body a Bow, Arrows, Corn, and fat Meat, for the Dead to subsist upon till they reach the Country of Souls.

And because they think all sensible things have Souls, therefore they reckon that after Death, men hunt the Souls of Beavers, Elks, Foxes, Otters, and other Animals. They

¹ General appellations given by the Indians to spirits of all kinds; applied, by extension, to anything mysterious or inexplicable.—ED.

believe that the Souls of those Rackets which they wear under their Feet in Winter-time to keep 'em from sinking into the Snow, serve 'em for the same use in the next Life, as well as the Souls of Bows and Arrows to kill Beasts with. And so they fanſie of the Fiſh likewise, and therefore the Souls will have occasion ſay they for the Arms interr'd with the Dead; the dead Bodies have no need of the Arms and Viſtuals that are ſet by 'em, no longer than till they get to the Country of Souls.

They imagine that the Souls walk viſibly for ſome time in the Villages, and partake of their Feaſts and Revels, therefore they always ſet aſide a Portion for them. Nay ſeveral of theſe Nations go ſo far as to make certain general Feaſts for the Dead, accompanied with Songs and horrible Cries, Feaſts wherein all that is brought is to be eaten up; Dances and Preſents of divers kinds. They take up the dead Bodies in the Village, and the very Bones of thoſe that are conſumed which they call Packets of Souls,¹ they [58] remove 'em from one Sepulchre to another, adorn'd with drefs'd Skins, Collars of Porcelain, and other like Riches, ſuch as their Country affords: They believe all this contributes mainly to the Happineſs of the Dead.

I will not be tedious in ſumming up particularly all their ſuperſtitious Opinions upon this Subject, in relation to the different Places or Employs they aſſign to them, the manner

¹It was believed, by many tribes, that the ſoul dwelt in the bones, not only during the physical life, but for at leaſt a time after death; and that it might afterward be reincarnated, if the bones remained unbroken. See *Jes. Relations*, xx, p. 310.—ED.

of their living, their Wars, Peace, Policy and Laws: All extravagant, ridiculous Traditions founded upon Fables invented by their Ancestours, and deliver'd to their Posterity for credible Truths, and as such receiv'd and firmly held by them.

One would be apt to suspect that these Savages of *America* originally sprung from the Jews, some of whom might casually have been wreckt, and cast upon that Part of the World; for they have several Customs not unlike theirs; they make their Cabbins in the form of Tents, like as the Jews did; they anoint themselves with Oil, and are superstitiously addicted to Divination from Dreams. They bewail over the Dead with great lamentation. The Women go into mourning for their near Relations a whole Year, during which time they abstain from dancing and feasting, and wear a sort of a Hood upon their Heads, and commonly the Father or Brother of the Deceas'd take care of the Widow.

Besides it seems as if God had laid a particular Malediction upon 'em, as he did upon the Jews: They are brutish, and persist unalterably in their Opinions; they have no certain fix'd Place of Abode; they are very lascivious, and have such gross Conceptions, [59] that when we tell 'em Souls are immortal and immaterial, they ask what they eat in the other World. Moreover we may observe some Conformity between *Moses's* Relation of the Creation of the World, and the Belief of these Savages about it, as I observed above. But to speak frankly, these Barbarians seem to have no kind of *Idea* of the Deity, and yet they believe another Life in which

they hope to enjoy the same Delights, that they are pleased with here. They live without any subordination, without Laws or any form of Government or Policy. They are stupid in matters of Religion, subtle and crafty in their Worldly concerns; but excessively superstitious.

[60] CHAP. XII.

What Method is most proper to convert the Savages; what Manner of Persons they are that ought not to be baptized.

OUR ancient Missionary Recollects of *Canada*, and those that succeeded them in that work, have always given it for their opinion, as I now own 'tis mine, that the way to succeed in converting the Barbarians, is to endeavour to make them men before we go about to make them Christians. Now in order to civilize them, 'tis necessary that the *Europeans* should mix with them, and that they should dwell together, which can never be done for certain till the Colonies are augmented: but it must be acknowledged, that the Company of *Canada* Merchants, have made great Obstacles to the encreasing of the Colonies; for out of greediness to keep all the Trade in their own hands, these Gentlemen would never permit any particular Society to settle themselves in the Country, nor suffer the Missionaries to persuade the Barbarians to dwell constantly in a place. Yet before this be done, there's no way to convert these Unbelievers. Thus the covetousness of those who are for getting a great deal in a short time, has mightily retarded the establishment of the Gospel among the Savages.

Hence 'tis manifest, that the office of a Missionary is very

troublesome and laborious, amongst these numerous Nations, and it must be granted that 'tis necessary to spend many Years, and undergo a great deal of pains to civilize People so extremely stupid and barbarous.

[61] And therefore, one would not venture without much caution, to administer the Sacraments to adult Persons, who pretend themselves Converts; for we see that after so many Years of Mission, there has been but little progress made, though no pains have been wanting on the Missionary's hands.

So that Christianity is not like to gain much ground among the Savages, till the Colonies are strengthened by a great Number of Inhabitants, Artisans and Workmen, and then the Treaty betwixt the Barbarians and us should be freer, and extended to all *Europeans*: But chiefly it should be endeavour'd to fix the Barbarians to a certain dwelling Place, and introduce our Customs and Laws amongst them, further'd by the Assistance of zealous People in *Europe*, Colleges might be founded to breed up the young Savages in the Christian Faith, which might in time contribute very much to the Conversion of their Country-men. This is a very proper Method without doubt, to strengthen the Temporal and Spiritual Interests of the Colonies; but the generality of Mankind are bent upon Gain and Traffick, and are little concern'd to procure God's Blessing upon them, and endeavour the advancement of his Glory.

God is often pleas'd to prove his Children, and amongst 'em those that employ themselves in saving Souls, by those means that most afflict them, but Dangers, Labours, Suffer-

ings, and even Death it self would be welcome to them, provided in sacrificing themselves for the Salvation of their Brethren, God would afford them the Consolation to see their Undertakings Crown'd with success to his Glory, and the Conversion of Infidels.

[62] It is impossible for us to look upon so great a Number of People as this relation mentions, and consider the little progress Religion has made among the Savages of these vast Countries, but we must needs admire the inscrutable Decrees of God, and cry out with the Apostle, *O the Depth of the Riches of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God!* a great Number of learned secular Priests, and zealous Religious men of our Order, have carried the Light of the Gospel into all Parts of the Earth, and labour'd hard in the Lord's Vineyard. But God would have us know, that the Conversion of Souls is the Work of his Grace, the blessed Moments of which are not yet come.

I cannot help saying with Grief, that there is a great deal of difference between the modern Missions into *America*, and those which our Recollects began in the New World, and continued in the Southern Parts of *America*; there they daily converted Millions of Souls; but in *Canada* we find the Ground barren and unfruitfull, nothing but blindness and insensibility, a prodigious Distance from God, and even an entire opposition to the Mystery of our Faith. Whole Ages are requir'd to prepare these Barbarians for the Gospel, before we can expect to see it flourish there: And to add to our affliction God has permitted that the Country should

be in the hands of a Company of Merchants, who think of nothing but their private Interest, and are unconcern'd for the Propagation of the Faith.

Our Ancient Missionary's Recollects did not grant the Sacrament of Baptism to the Savages but with great Caution, for fear the Sacred Mystery should be profaned by the Barbarians; and in our Days we see these Nations not at all dispos'd to Christianity: They [63] seem to have no Sense at all of Religion in general to be incapable of the most common reasonings, that lead other Men to the knowledge of a Deity true or false.

These miserable dark Creatures listen to all we say concerning our Mysteries, just as if 'twere a Song; they are naturally very vitious, and addicted to some Superstitions that signify nothing; their Customs are savage, brutal and barbarous; they will suffer themselves to be baptized ten times a Day for a Glass of Brandy, or a Pipe of Tobacco, and offer their Children to be baptiz'd, but all without any Religious Motive. Those that one takes the pains to instruct, for a Winter together, as I my self taught some of them while I dwelt at Fort *Frontenac*, give no better signs of Edification, than others in our Articles of Faith: So wrapt up are they in Insensibility, to what concerns Religion, which occasion'd terrible Checks of Conscience in our Religious, in the beginning of their Mission among the People of *Canada*; they saw that the few Persons of years of Discretion that they had instructed, and afterwards admitted to Baptism, soon fell again into their ordinary indifference for Salvation,

and that the Children follow'd the unhappy Example of their Parents, infomuch that 'twas no better than a plain profanation of Baptism to administer it to them.

The Case was search'd into to the bottom, and argued upon with much application; nay, 'twas carried into the *Sorbonne*¹; at length, after all possible diligent Scrutiny into the matter it was concluded, that as for Persons of years, and Children near the Point of Death, and who in all humane Probability would certainly soon give up the Ghost; they might venture to baptize them if they demanded it, because it [64] might be justly presum'd, that in that extremity God inspir'd the adult Persons with his Grace, as 'twas thought it had been obvious in some of them; but they declar'd, that as for the other Savages, they ought not to be baptiz'd, until after long observation and experience, they were perceiv'd to be well inclined and instructed, having a right apprehension of our Mysteries, and had quitted their barbarous Customs, they declar'd further that they might administer Baptism to those who dwelt constantly among the Christians, were brought up in the same way of living, were civiliz'd, and above all were well instructed, and that they should baptize their Children; and they compos'd a Form, and likewise a kind of fundamental Canon, for a Rule to these Missionaries, to which they were absolutely to conform themselves in the Functions of their Employ.

¹ Cf. the condemnation by the Sorbonne of Fléché's too hasty baptisms in Acadia (1610); see *Jes. Relations*, i, 311. The Sorbonne was a celebrated school of theology, founded at Paris in 1253 by Robert Sorbon. It ceased to exist in 1790; and in 1808 its buildings were given to the University of France.—ED.

[65] CHAP. XIII.

*The Barbarians of North-America don't acknowledg any God.
Of the pretended Souls of terrestrial Animals.*

OUR antient Miffionaries Recollects were acquainted with feveral different Nations within the compafs of 600 Leagues in *North-America*; and I have been among many more, becaufe I went farther than any of them, having made a Voyage all along the River of *St. Lawrence*, and *Mefchafipi*. I obferved, as my Predeceffors, that the Savages don't want good Senfe in what concerns the general and particular Intereft of their Nation. They purfue their Point, and take right Methods to come to the end of their defigns: but 'tis what I am aftonifh'd at, that whilft they are fo clear fought in their common Affairs, they fhould have fuch extravagant notions of the concerns of Religion, the Manners, Laws, and Maxims of Life.

We muft all of us own, that almoft all the Savages in general have no Belief of a Deity, and that they are incapable of the common and ordinary Arguments and Reasonings that the reft of Mankind are led by upon this Subject; fo dark and ftupid are their Underftandings. At the fame time we may acknowledg, that now and then in fome of them we difcover fome glimmerings of a confus'd Notion of God.

Some will confess, but very cloudily, that the Sun is God: Others say, 'tis a Genius that rules in the Air: Some again look upon the Heavens as a kind of Divinity. But these only make a shew of believing something [66] that we can hardly guess at: we can't fix them to any settled Principle. The Nations Southward seem to believe an Universal Spirit that governs all: they imagine after a fashion, that there's a Spirit in every thing, even in those that are inanimate; and they address themselves to it sometimes, and beg something of it; as we took notice of one Barbarian, who made a kind of Sacrifice upon an Oak, at the Cascade of St. *Antony of Padua*, upon the River *Meschasipi*.¹

All these Nations don't profess their Belief of a Deity out of any respect to Religion: They talk of it ordinarily, as a thing they were prepossessed with; or frolicksomly, not regarding any thing they say themselves, any otherwise than as a kind of Fable. They have no outward Ceremony to signify that they worship any Deity: There's no Sacrifice, Priest, Temple, nor any other Token of Religion amongst them.

Their Dreams are to them instead of Prophecy, Inspiration, Laws, Commandments, and Rules, in all their Enterprizes, in War, Peace, Commerce, and Hunting: They regard them as Oracles. The Opinion they have of their Dreams draws them into a kind of necessity to be ruled by them; for they think 'tis an Universal Spirit, that inspires them by Dreams, and adviseth them what to do: And they carry this so far,

¹ See p. 278, *ante*.—ED.

that if their Dream orders them to kill a Person, or commit any other wicked Action, they presently execute it, and make satisfaction for it afterwards, as we shall shew anon. The Parents dream for their Children, the Captains for their Village. There are some among them, that take upon them to interpret Dreams, and explain them after their own fancy or inclination; and if their Interpretations don't prove true, they are not lookt upon as Cheats ere the more for that.

[67] Some have taken notice, that when they meet with any Cascade or Fall of Waters, which is difficult to cross, and apprehend any danger, they throw a Bever's Skin, Tobacco, Porcelain, or some such matter into it by way of Sacrifice, to gain the Favour of the Spirit that presides there.

There's no Nation but what have their Jugglers, which some count Sorcerers: but 'tis not likely that they are under any Covenant, or hold communication with the Devil. At the same time, one may venture to say, that the evil Spirit has a hand in the Tricks of these Jugglers, and makes use of them to amuse these poor People, and render them more incapable of receiving the Knowledg of the true God. They are very fond of these Jugglers, tho they cozen them perpetually.

These Impostors would be counted Prophets, who foretel things to come: they would be look'd upon as having almost an infinite Power: they boast that they make Rain or fair Weather, Calms and Storms, Fruitfulness or Barrenness of the Ground, Hunting lucky or unlucky. They serve for

Physicians too, and frequently apply such Remedies, as have no manner of virtue to cure the Distemper.

Nothing can be imagin'd more horrible than the Cries and Yellings, and the strange Contorsions of these Rascals, when they fall to juggling or conjuring; at the same time they do it very cleverly. They never cure any one, nor predict any thing that falls out, but purely by chance: mean time they have a thousand Fetches to bubble [*i. e.*, cheat] the poor people, when the accident does not answer their Predictions and Remedies; for, as I said, they are both Prophets and Quacks. They do nothing without Presents or Reward. 'Tis true, if these Impostors are not very dexterous at recommending themselves, and bringing themselves off, when any person dies under their [68] hands, or Enterprizes do not succeed as they promis'd, they are sometimes murdered upon the place, without any more Formality.

These blind Wretches are wedded to many other Superstitions, which the Devil makes use of to delude them: They believe that several kinds of Animals have a reasonable Soul: They have an unaccountable Veneration for certain Bones of Elks, Bevers, and other Beasts; they never throw these to their Dogs, which are the only Domestick Animals they keep, because they serve for Hunting: So they preserve these precious Bones, and are very unwilling to cast them into the River. They pretend, that the Souls of these Animals come back into the World to see how they treat their Bodies, and give notice accordingly to the rest of the Beasts both dead

and living; and that if they should find they are ill us'd, the Beasts of that kind would never let themselves be taken, neither in this World nor the next.

One may say, that the Corruption of Sin has spread a strange Darknes in the Souls of these unhappy people, and a perfect Insensibility to all Religion; insomuch that they are not to be match'd in any History. 'Tis true, they are obstinately superstitious in some things; and yet at the same time, they are not mov'd by any principle of Religion. 'Tis nothing but strong Prejudice and Imagination. When we dispute with them, and put them to a nonplus, they hold their tongues; their Minds are stupid, their Faculties are befotted. If we propose our Mysteries to them, they heed them as indifferently as their own nonsensical Whimsies. I have met with some of them, who seem to acknowledg that there is one first Principle that made all things; but this makes but a slight Impression upon their Mind, which returns again to its ordinary Deadnes, and former Insensibility.

[69] CHAP. XIV.

Of the great difficulties in converting the Savages. Of the Prayers they get by rote; and of Martyrdom.

THE great Insensibility of these Barbarians is caused principally by their Carelessness and neglect to be thoroughly instructed. They come to us, and attend to what we say, purely out of Idleness, and natural Curiosity to converse with us, as we with them; or rather they are tempted to follow us, by the Kindness and Flatteries we express towards them, or because of the Benefit their Sick receive from us, or out of hope to gain by trafficking with us; or lastly, because we are Europeans, and they think us stouter than themselves, and hope we will defend them from their Enemies.

We teach them Prayers; but they repeat them like Songs, without any distinction by Faith. Those we have catechized a long time, are very wavering, except some few: They renounce all, return into their Woods, and take up their old Superstitions upon the least Crotchet that comes into their Heads.

I don't know whether their Predecessors had any Knowledge of a God; but 'tis certain their Language, which is very natural and expressive in every thing else, is so barren on this

Subject, that we can't find any expression in it to signify the Deity, or any one of our Mysteries, not even the most common: this gives us great perplexity when we would convert them.

Another great Obstacle to their Conversion is this: Most of them have several Wives; and in the Northern parts they change them as often as they please: [70] They can't conceive how people can tie themselves indissolubly to one person in Marriage. See how filly you are, cry they, when we argue with them about it. My Wife is uneasy to me, I am so to her; she'll agree very well with such a one, who is at odds with his Wife: now why should we four lead a miserable Life all our days?

Another hindrance lies in a Custom of theirs, not to contradict any Man; they think every one ought to be left to his own Opinion, without being thwarted: they believe, or make as if they believed all you say to them; but 'tis their Insensibility, and Indifference for every thing, especially Matters of Religion, which they never trouble themselves about.

America is no place to go to out of a desire to suffer Martyrdom, taking the Word in a Theological Sense: The Savages never put any Christian to death upon the score of his Religion; they leave every body at liberty in Belief: They like the outward Ceremonies of our Church, but no more. These Barbarians never make War, but for the Interest of their Nation; they don't kill people, but in par-

ticular Quarrels, or when they are brutish, or drunk, or in revenge, or infatuated with a Dream, or some extravagant Vision: they are incapable of taking away any Person's Life out of hatred to his Religion.

They are brutish in all their Inclinations; they are naturally Gluttons, and know no other Happiness in this Life, but the pleasure of eating and drinking: This is remarkable in their very Eyes, and their Diversions, which are always begun and ended with feasting.

The Passion of Revenge which they are possessed with, is another great Obstacle to Christianity: They are very tender and affectionate to their own Nation, but cruel and revengeful beyond imagination towards their Enemies: They are naturally Inconstant, [71] Revilers, Scoffers, and Lascivious. In short, among all the Vices they are addicted to, we can perceive no Principle of Religion or Morality; and to be sure this must needs render their Conversion extremely difficult.

To persuade them to any thing, and dispose them to the Faith, 'tis requisite to make them familiar with us, and contract a good acquaintance with them; but this is not to be done presently, because first of all the Colonies ought to be multiplied, and planted every where. When they have pass'd away a few Weeks with the Europeans, they are oblig'd to go to War, Hunting, or Fishing, for their Subsistence, and this depraves 'em extremely. They should be fix'd, inticed to clear the Ground, and cultivate it, and work at several Trades, as the Europeans do; and then we should see 'em

reform their barbarous Customs, and become more civiliz'd, as well towards one another as us.

In another place we shall treat of the other Southern Nations, who seem better dispos'd to receive the Gospel than those of the North.

CHAP. XV.

The manner of Feasting among the Savages.

THEY have Feasts at parting from one another, Feasts of Thanks, War, Peace, Death, Marriage, and Health. They continue revelling night and day, particularly when they hold those Feasts, which they term, *Eat up all*: For then they don't permit any one to quit the Company till all be eaten up. And if a Person is not able to stuff any longer, he is oblig'd to hire another into his place.

[72] They have other Feasts for the recovery of the Sick, and some ordinary common Feasts. Formerly they kept wanton Festivals, where the Men and Women mingled together promiscuously, and plaid most abominable lewd Pranks. But if they make such Entertainments now a-days, 'tis very rarely, and when they are at a great distance from the Europeans.

When they undertake a War, 'tis commonly to recover satisfaction for some Injury, that they pretend has been done to them: Sometimes they engage in it, upon account of a Dream, and often as a Fancy takes 'em: Sometimes they enter into it, because other People jeer them: You're a Coward, say they; You never were in a Battle; You have kill'd no Body yet. Then are they rouz'd by Honour, and

after they have kill'd some Fallow Deer, make a Feast, and exhort their Neighbours to accompany them in their Enterprize.

When they have a mind to go singly, and alone, they make no Feasts, but only order their Wives to get them some Meal of Indian Corn, because they are going to War. But if they would have Companions, they go through all the Villages to invite the young Men, who take their Platters of Wood, or Bark of Birch: Then they rendezvouz at the Cabin of him who invited them, which they commonly enter, singing Warlike Songs. I am going to War, I will revenge the Death of such a Kinsman, I will slay, I will burn, I will bring away Slaves, I will eat Men, and such like Expressions that breathe nothing but Cruelty.

When all the Crew are assembled, they fill the Kettles of those that have any, or else their Porringers of Wood or Bark: then they sit down to eat; and during the Entertainment, he that invited them to the Feast, sings without intermission, and exhorts them to follow him.

All this while they speak not one word, and eat up [73] all they have given them in profound Silence, except one or other of 'em between whiles applauds him that made the Feast of War, by answering *Netbo*, or *Joguenske*. When the Orator has done, he says to 'em all, 'Tis well; I'll march to morrow, or within two or three days, according as he hath projected. The next day those who are willing to accompany him to the War, go to him, and assure him that they will follow him any where to revenge him upon his Enemies.

'Tis very well, Nephews, says he, we'll be going three days hence. And the Savages make twelve or fifteen Feasts of this kind before they set out.

These Barbarians had us'd to make very lascivious Feasts. The Leader of the Party ordered a young Woman to prostitute her self to such or such a one as he pointed at. If she refus'd to gratify them, they attributed all their Miscarriages in their Enterprizes to her; so cunning is the Devil in cherishing their impure Imaginations.

When they marry their Children, they seldom make a Feast. But if they do think fit to make any, they observe certain Ceremonies in it: the first thing they do, is to prepare Victuals. To this end they fill with Meat those Kettles which they have truck'd for with the Europeans, or great Earthen Pots which the Women make. They provide as many of them as they design to have Guests: when the Meat, or *Sagamite* is dress'd, they go to invite their Guests, and this they do by putting a little stick into their hand, and saying, I invite thee to my Feast. No sooner said, but 'tis done, they need not be ask'd twice. They all come with their usual Utensils. The Master of the Cabin distributes to each an equal Mess, and he that provides the Feast, or some other in his place, sings without ceasing till they have eaten all up: after the Banquet they sing and dance, and at last without any Formality of [74] returning Thanks to the Donor, they go back every one to their Cabin without speaking a word. None but those who have convers'd with the Europeans, return Thanks to those that invited them.

The Feasts made to recover the Sick are much after the same manner: But they do more good to the Guests than to the sick weak Persons. The Feasts for the Dead are more doleful and sad. No Body sings or dances then. The Kindred of the Dead are in a deep mournful Silence. They look mightily troubl'd, to move their Guests to Compassion: all that go to these Feasts, carry Presents with 'em; and laying them at the feet of the near Kindred to the Deceas'd, say, here's something to cover him, towards building a Cabin, or making a Palisade round his Sepulchre, according to the nature of their Presents: then they feed plentifully, and return home without speaking a word.

As for the ordinary Feasts, they order 'em several ways according to their Fancy: if they have any Knives bought of the Europeans, and have eaten and cut fat Meat with them, they ordinarily wipe their Knives with their Hair. They commonly eat sitting upon the ground, and have nothing to wipe upon. So they are forc'd to wipe their greasy Knives in their Hair, and then rub their Faces all over with it. These frequent Unctions without doubt harden them, and make 'um capable of undergoing much Toil.

CHAP. XVI.

The manner of Adopting the Europeans among the Savages.

I TOOK notice in my former Volume that a Barbarian Captain of the *Iffati*, or *Nadoueffans*, named *Aquipaguetin*, adopted me in the place of his Son, who was [75] kill'd in Battle by the *Miamis*, and that this help'd me to gain Credit among these People, and insinuate my self into 'em, the better to dispose 'em to believe the Gospel. This is what the Missionaries should aim at, when they are among the Savages; they should endeavour to insinuate themselves into the Favour of him who is most famous of all the Leaders among 'em, and most inclin'd to the *Europeans*. Then this Captain brings them forth, for that's the term the Savages use to signify their Adoption; and this is done in a Feast. The Captain, I say, adopts a Missionary for his Son, or for his Brother, according to his Age and Quality; after which all the Nation look upon him as if he were actually born in their Country, and a-kin to their Captain: by means of this Ceremony he gets admission into the Family, in the quality of a Son, a Brother, Uncle, Nephew, or Cousin, with respect to those of the Family, and according to the rank they hold in it by their Birth.

And to carry on their Designs the better, the Missionaries

cause a Council to be assembled, to set themselves off the more to the Barbarians. And here let it be observ'd, that all Assemblies, held by order of their Captains, are call'd *Councils*. Those that come to these Assemblies, sit upon the Ground in a Cabin, or in open Field; they keep silence whilst their Leader makes his Harangue, and religiously observe whatever they once firmly conclude upon.

The Missionaries deliver themselves, in these Assemblies, either by word of Mouth, if they understand the Language of the People, or else by Interpreters. They tell 'em that they come among them to make an Alliance and Friendship with them, and at the same time to invite them to traffick with their Nation; in conclusion, they desire the Savages to permit them to dwell in their Country, to instruct them in God's Law, which is the only way to Heaven.

[76] The Savages often accept the Offers of the Missionaries, and assure them they are well satisfied with their Persons: but to win the Barbarians, 'tis requisite that the Missionaries give them Hatchets, Knives, or other European Merchandizes, which the Savages, especially those who never yet had any Commerce with the Europeans, set a high value upon. We never treat of any Affair with them without presenting them with something of that nature, which they value more than we in *Europe* do Gold. After this the Barbarians *bring forth*, that is to say, adopt those that have made Presents to them. They publickly declare them Citizens, or Children of their Country; and according to their Age, as I said before, the Savages call the adopted Persons, Sons, Brothers,

Coufins, according to the degrees of Relation: And they cherish them whom they have once adopted, as much as if they were their own natural Brothers or Children.

I forgot to take notice in my former Volume, that the great Captain of the *Iffati*, named *Ouafcoude*, or pierced Pine-tree, call'd me his Brother. There are no examples among the other Nations of adopting any one for a Brother to a Captain so absolute as he. He had been several times at war with seventeen or eighteen Nations, Enemies to his, and brought away their Heads, or made them Prisoners.

Those that are Valiant and Couragious are very much esteem'd by the Savages. They ordinarily use no other Arms than Bows, Arrows, and Maces [*i. e.*, war-clubs]; but they use them very dexterously. They are clear-limb'd, active, and robust: I never saw any blind, crooked, or deform'd Person among them.

[77] CHAP. XVII.

Of the Marriages of the Savages in North America.

MARRIAGE is not a Civil Contract among these People; the Man and Woman don't intend to bind themselves together for as long as they live, they live together no longer than they agree together, and love one another. As soon as they are discontented with each other, they say, as I have before observed, My Wife is uneasy to me, and I to her, she'll agree well enough with such a one who is weary of his Wife; there's no reason why we four should live unquietly all our days: So without more ado, without any Clamor or Noise, they separate, and remain perfectly indifferent for each other.

These Barbarians sometimes marry their Daughters at nine or ten Years old, not that the young Couple come together so soon, their Age is too green for that, but they expect to make some Advantage of their Sons-in-law; for when they return from hunting, the Girl's Father has the disposal of the Skins, and the Flesh they have taken: but at the same time the Girl is obliged to bring the *Sagamite*, or Milk thicken'd with Indian Corn, and the Meat provided for her Husband's eating, tho she do not yet cohabit with him: sometimes 'tis five or six Years before they consummate.

When they marry, they make Feasts with great pomp

and rejoicing; all the Village is invited by turns: every one makes good Chear. After the Banquet they sing and dance, as the Europeans upon that occasion, but after their own way.

[78] They often marry clandestinely, and there goes but one word to the Bargain. A Savage unmarried Man goes to a Maid, or unmarried Woman; without more Courtship, he tells her, if she will go with him, she shall be his Wife: She makes no Reply at first, but pauses a little while, holding her Head betwixt both her Hands while she is considering what to do; the Man holds his Head in the same posture, and stands silent. After she has thought a little of the matter, she says *Netbo*, or *Niaoua*, which signifies, I am content: The Man lifts up his Head presently, and replies, *Oné*, that is to say, 'tis a Match. At Night the Woman or Maid takes an Iron Hatchet, or if her Nation have no Commerce with the Europeans, she takes one made of Stone that will cut; she goes and cuts as much good Wood as she can carry, brings it to the door of the Savage's Cabin, and lays it down; she goes in and sits down by the Man, who does not offer to care for her: when they have sat together long enough without speaking, the Husband tells her in the *Iroquoise* Tongue, *Sentaouy*, 'tis time to lie down, repose your self: sometime after he comes and lays himself down by her.

'Tis very rarely seen that any of 'em make Love after the European manner, courting, dallying, and jesting fondly and merrily; they re-enter into a reciprocal Kindness with as much ease as they broke it off before: They part very quietly, for they make no more words on't than, *I quit thee*; that's all:

they are perfectly indifferent to each other after when they meet, and take no more notice than if they had never seen one another. 'Tis true, they sometimes fight before they part, but that happens very rarely.

Among the Northern Savages, and particularly the *Iroquois*, some have two Wives, but not for any long time: when they part, sometimes the Woman carries away all the Clothes and Skins; but at other [79] times again she carries nothing away but the piece of Stuff that serves her for a little Petticoat, and her Blanket. Commonly the Children follow their Mothers, who continue to nurse and bring them up, because the Estate of every Tribe or Family lies in common: there are some that stay with their Fathers; but almost all the Savages that are divorced leave their Children to their Wives, saying, they don't believe they are theirs; wherein they frequently tell truth, for there are very few Women among them that withstand the temptation of a woollen Blanket, or any other trivial Present.

When their Children are begotten by an European, one may perceive it by their Face or Eyes; the Children of the Savages are perfectly black, and not pale or swarthy like the Europeans; they see farther into the Woods likewise, and with more quickness than ours: Their Eyes are more piercing than the Europeans.

If the Savage Women were capable of contracting Marriage, and keep stedfast in it, we might marry as many of them as we would to the Europeans; but they have no inclination to Constancy, they can't keep their Conjugal Vows

inviolated, and are very ready to leave their Husbands: this we know by Experience, and their common discourse upon this Subject confirms us in it. When a Barbarian who has no Wife passes through a Village, he hires a Woman for a Night or two, whilst he carries from home, or is hunting Bevers, or for some Weeks, according to his fancy; the Parents never hinder it: on the contrary, they make the first advances, and are over-joy'd that their Daughters gain some Clothes or Skins.

There are all sorts of Humours reigning among the Savages, as among the Europeans: some love their Wives very tenderly, others slight 'em; some beat and use them very hardly, but that does not last [80] long, because they turn them off; nay, there are some of them that are jealous, as I saw one who beat his Wife because she danc'd with other Men. Those that are good Hunters have the choice of the finest Women, the rest have none but the homeliest, and the Refuse. When they grow old, they rarely part with their Wives; and if they do, 'tis for weighty Reasons. Some of them live twelve or fifteen Years with their Wives, who are ready to go distracted if their Husband is a good Hunter, and leaves them: sometimes they are so grieved at it, that they poison themselves; I have known some attempt it, and have saved their Lives by giving them Treacle.

When these Barbarians go to hunt the Bever in the Spring-time, they frequently leave their Wives in the Village to sow Indian Corn and Gourds, and then they hire another to go along with them: When they are about to return, they

give them a Bever or two, and fend 'em back to their Cabin; then they go home to their Wives as tho they had done nothing blameable: but if the last pleases them best, they take her, and turn away the first without more ado: and these Savages wonder the Europeans don't take the same course.

One day whilst I liv'd at Fort *Frontenac* amongst the *Iroquois*, the Husband of one of our Women of *Canada* was gone twenty or thirty Leagues from thence; the Women Savages came to her, and told her she had no sense, take another Man till your Husband returns. This great Inconstancy, and continual change of Women, are two things very opposite to the Maxims of the Gospel, which we endeavour to infill into the Savages: 'Tis one of the most considerable Obstacles to the Faith; but among the Southern Nations, and those of *Meschafipi*, Polygamy is in fashion. In all the Countries of the *Louisiana* there are Savages to be met with that have often ten or [81] twelve Wives; they frequently marry three Sisters, and give this reason for so doing, that they agree better together than with Strangers.

When a Man has given Presents to the Father and Mother of the Maid that he would espouse, she becomes his own for Life if he please. Sometimes the Parents take their Son-in-law's Children, and then they give 'em back the Presents they made 'em, but this happens very seldom. If any Woman defile her Marriage-bed, the Husband cuts off her Nose, or an Ear, or gives her a slash in the Face with a stone Knife; if he kill her, he is clear'd for a Present which he gives to her Parents to *wipe away their Tears*, 'tis the very

Expression they use: I have seen several markt in the Face.

The Men of the hot Country are more jealous of their Wives than those of the North; the first are so jealous in this matter, that they wound themselves, and sometimes kill themselves in a blind passion of Love, which prompts them to this Fury.

One thing is very remarkable, and that is, young Warlike Savages seldom have to do with Women till thirty Years of Age, because, say they, their Commerce with Women exhausts their Strength, weakens their Knees, and renders them heavy in the Course; those that marry before that Age, are look'd upon as Men unfit for War or Hunting, and are despised as Effeminate Persons.

The Southern Men commonly go naked, but their Women are partly covered with a Skin finely drest, especially in their Dances and Ceremonies: The Maids oil their Hair, curl it, and tie it in Locks: The Women wear their Hair like the Bohemians, they greaze it too, and paint their Faces with all sorts of Colours, and so do the Men.

[82] CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Remedies which the Savages administer to the Sick; they have Mountebanks among them. Their opinion of Infant-Baptism when the Author liv'd there.

WHEN the Savages are tired and weary, they go into a Stove¹ to recruit the strength of their Limbs; and if they have a pain in their Thighs or Legs, they take a Knife or a Stone that will cut, which they can get, and make a fort of Scarification upon the Part that is grieved; while the Blood runs, they scrape it off with their Knives or Stones till it has done running, and then they rub the Wounds with Bear's Oil, or Deer's Grease; this is a soveraign Remedy, and they use the same when they have a Pain in the Head or Arms.

To cure Tertian or Quartan Agues, they compose a Medicine with a certain Bark which they boil, and give it to the sick Person to swallow after his Fit. They have some knowledg in Herbs and Roots, with which they cure several Distempers: They have infallible Remedies against the Poison

¹ That is, a sweat-box; within a little tent or hut were placed stones heated red-hot, on which water was poured, the hut being thereby filled with steam. This process was regarded as a valuable therapeutic agency, and was also employed in superstitious rites.—ED.

of Toads, Rattlesnakes, and other dangerous Animals; but none against the Small-Pox, as we have.

There are Mountebanks or Quacks among them, whom we have already spoke of under the name of Jugglers: These are some old Savages who live at other Peoples Cost, by counterfeiting themselves Physicians, after a very superstitious manner. They make no use of Medicines but when they are call'd to a sick Person; they make themselves be sued to, as tho they were to do some thing very extraordinary [83] and difficult: at last, after much intreaty, the Juggler comes, he approaches the sick Person, feels his Body all over; and after he has well handled and consider'd it, he tells 'em, there's a Charm or Spell in such a part, in the Head, Leg, or Stomach, or where he thinks fit; he adds, that he must remove this same Charm, and that it can't be done but with a great deal of difficulty, and 'tis necessary to do a great many things before he can succeed in it.

This Charm is very malign, says he, but it must be fetch'd out cost what it will: The sick Person's Friends, who blindly believe all the Quack tells 'em, make answer, *Tcbagon, Tcbagon*, Courage, Courage, Do what you can, spare nothing that you know will do him good: Then the Juggler sets himself down very gravely, and considers some time what Remedies to make use of; by and by he rises up, as out of a profound Sleep, and cries, It shall be done. You such a one, the Life of your Wife, or your Child is very dear to you, then spare nothing that may save it; you must make a Feast to day, you must give one thing or other, you must do this or that: at the

same time they never fail to execute the Juggler's Orders. The other Savages go all together into a Stove, and sing as loud as they can bawl, and make a ratling with Tortoise Shells, or Pumkins made hollow, and Indian Corn put into 'em; and to this Noise the Men and Women dance: nay, sometimes they get drunk with Brandy bought of the Europeans, and then they make a horrible din and clutter.

While they are all taken up in this manner, the old Juggler keeps close to the sick Person, whom he torments by holding his or her Feet and Legs, and gripes them hard in the part where the pretended Charm lies; he makes 'em suffer incredible Pain, enough to kill 'em, and often makes the Blood start out at the end of their Fingers or Toes; at length [84] after he has done all this, he shews a piece of Skin, a lock of Woman's Hair, or some such thing, and tells 'em 'tis the Charm which he has drawn out of the sick Person's Body, when at the bottom 'tis all a piece of Roguery.

Once I baptiz'd a little Child which seem'd to me to be at the point of Death, and next day it recovered contrary to my expectation; a while after the Mother told several Women in my presence, that I had cur'd her Child: She took me for a Juggler, saying, I was an admirable Fellow, that I knew how to cure all sorts of Diseases with sprinkling Water upon the Head and Face.

The Jugglers spited at the Woman's Character of me, began to tell 'em that I was of an austere melancholy Humour, that I fed upon Serpents and Poison, that such Folks

as I eat Thunderbolts. The Savages were astonish'd at the strange Stories these Rascals made upon me on the occasion of baptizing the Child; nay, these impostors added, that we had all Tails like Beasts, that the European Women have but one Pap in the middle of the Breast, and bear five or six Children at a time, and a great deal more of such stuff to make us odious; and this they did because they thought that what I did would lessen their Credit, and thereby they should be depriv'd of many a good Treat.

These poor honest People, who are easily put upon, began to suspect me: when one of them fell sick, they came and ask'd me whether I had poison'd him or no? and threaten'd to kill me if I did not cure him. I had much ado to undeceive them, and I was forc'd more than once to appease them, by giving them Knives, Needles, Awls, and other such like Trifles of little value with us, but much priz'd by the Savages. After which I gave a Dose of Treacle to the sick Man, and so I quieted them. The Savages often [85] have recourse to our Medicines, because they find them good; if they don't operate successfully, they lay the fault upon the Remedy, and never upon the ill Disposition of the sick Person.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Constitution or Temper of the Savages.

GENERALLY speaking, the Savages are very robust; the Men, Women and Children are of an extraordinary vigorous Constitution, therefore they are very rarely troubled with Distempers. They don't know what it is to cocker and make much of themselves; thence it comes that they are not subject to any of those Indispositions that our Luxury brings upon us. They are not afflicted with Gout, Dropsy, or Gravel, nor are they feverish; they are hardly ever incommoded with those Diseases which the Europeans fall into for want of Exercise; they are seldom troubled with loss of Appetite; they are usually addicted to gormandizing, inso-much that they rise in the Night to eat; if by good luck they have Meat or *Sagamite* by them, they fall to it like Dogs without getting up.

And yet they can undergo such long Abstinences as would doubtless be intolerable to the Europeans; sometimes they fast two or three days together, when there's a necessity for it, and this without discontinuing their business, whether it be War, Hunting, or Fishing. The Children of the Savages that dwell towards the North, are so harden'd against Cold, that in the depth of Winter they run stark naked through the

Snow, and tumble about in it, as Hogs wallow in the Dirt in Summer-time. When the Air [86] is fill'd with *Maringouins*, [*i. e.*, mosquitoes] they don't feel their stinging.

'Tis true, the sharp Air they expose themselves to as soon as they can run about, contributes in some sort to harden their Skin for any Fatigue; but yet it must be confessed that this great Insensibility is owing to a strong robust Temper of Body: for tho' our Hands and Face are always expos'd to the Weather, yet they are never the less sensible of Cold. When the Men are a hunting, especially in the Spring-time, they are almost continually in the Water, notwithstanding it be very cold; and yet they come out of it fresh and gay, and return to their Cabins without complaining.

When they go to War, they sometimes post themselves behind a Tree three or four days together, eating a very inconsiderable quantity of Victuals all that while; and thus they lie hid in ambush, waiting to make a favourable Blow. They are indefatigable Hunters, they run very swift, and hold it a long time.

The Nations of *Louisiana*, and of the River *Meschasipi*, run much faster than the *Iroquois*; there are no wild Bulls or Cows which they can't overtake. The Savages of the South, tho' inhabiting a warmer Country, and more pleasant than the North, are no less robust, nor less accustomed to Fatigue than the Savages of the North, who sleep upon the Snow wrapt in a little Blanket, without Fire or Cabin.

The Constitution of the Women is no less vigorous than that of the Men Savages, nay they are rather more robust;

the Women serve for Porters, and are so strong, that few Men in *Europe* can match them; they'll carry Packs that two or three can hardly lift up: I observ'd in my first Volume, that they usually carry two or three hundred Weight, and set their Children a top of their Burden, who are not [87] reckon'd into the Weight: 'tis true they walk slowly, but they never fail to meet at the rendezvous of the Nation. The warlike Savages undertake Voyages of three or four hundred Leagues, as if 'twere no more than a kind of Walk, as from *Amsterdam* to *Breda*: They don't carry their Provision along with them; they live by Hunting, which they follow daily; they take nothing but a Knife with them to make Bows and Arrows with; and in that Equipage they will go a thousand Leagues, if they are minded.

The Women Savages are brought to bed without any great Pain; some of them go out of their Cabins, and retire aside by themselves into the next Wood; they come back agen presently with the new born Infant wrapt up in their Blanket or dressed Skin: Others, if they fall in labour in the Night time, deliver themselves of their Children upon their Mats, without crying out, or making a noise; the next morning they rise, and go about their ordinary Business within doors or without, as tho nothing had happened. 'Tis further remarkable, that whilst they are big with Child, they stir about, carry heavy Burdens, sow Indian Corn, and Gourds; and what is more strange than all this, their Children are very well shap'd, there are few of them crooked or

deformed, they have no natural Faults in their Bodies; which makes me think, that their Mind might easily be fashioned as comely as their outward Form, if it were cultivated, and if we conversed more with them to polish their wild barbarous Humour.

[88] CHAP. XX.

A Description of the Savages that go clothed, and those that do not.

THE Savages of *North America* on the North side, according to the report of their antient Men, have always gone cover'd, even before they had any Commerce with the Europeans: The Men and Women cloth'd themselves with drefs'd Skins; they are now cloth'd after the same manner, but those that have any Commerce with the Europeans have commonly a Shirt, a great Coat, such as the Mariners watch in at Sea, with a Cowl to it, and a Piece of Cloth made fast before and behind, with a Girdle which comes down to their Knees; besides they have Stockings without Feet, and Shoes made of drefs'd Skins.

When they return from Hunting in Spring time, they truck their Skins for Coats, Shoes, and Stockings: some wear Hats out of complaisance to the Europeans: Some of them have Blankets in which they wrap themselves, holding two Corners of it in their Hands, when they are in their Cabins, they often go quite naked, having nothing but a Piece of Cloth, which they gird about them in Winter; 'tis fasten'd about their Loins, and hangs down between their Thighs as low as their Knees. When these Barbarians go to War, or to a Feast, they dawb their Faces all over with red

or black, that their Enemies may not perceive they turn pale with Fear; they likewise colour their Hair red, and cut it in several fashions, especially the Northern Savages: Those of the South cut all their Hair off, or rather they singe it off with Stones made red hot in the Fire, till it be so short, that it does not cover their Ears: [89] Often-times the People of the North let their Hair hang down in Curls on one side, and cut the other side close, according to their Fancy. There are some that rub their Hair with Oil, and afterwards clap some Down, or little Feathers upon their Heads: sometimes they fasten near their Ears great Plumes of Feathers; some make themselves Wreaths of Flowers, others make 'em of Birchen Bark, and some of drefs'd Skins, that are work'd very prettily; then they look like some of *Cesar's* Soldiers, who were painted of divers colours: They make themselves taken notice of for their Fantasticalness.

The Northern Women are clothed like the Men, except that they wear a piece of Stuff made like a Petticoat, which reaches down almost to their Knees: When they go to Feasts, they drefs themselves in all their best Attire, bedawb their Temples, their Cheeks, and the Tip of their Chin with three sorts of Colours. The Boys go stark naked, till they are capable of Marriage; and even when they are clothed, those Parts, which Nature forbids Men to discover, are always left uncover'd, at least if they have no Shirts. The Girls begin to put on Clothes at five or six years old; and then they wear a piece of Stuff, that goes round 'em, reaching from their Loins down to their Knees. When we went into their Cabins

to instruct them, we obliged them to cover themselves: this produced a good effect; now they begin to be ashamed of their Nakedness, and cover themselves a little better than they did formerly.

'Tis otherwise with the Women and Girls of the *Louisiana* and *Meschafipi*, which lie Southwest of *Canada* above a thousand Leagues from *Quebec*; there we see the Girls *in puris naturalibus*, just as they came out of their Mothers Belly, till they arrive at a fit Age to marry; mean time they are not at all ashamed, because us'd to it.

[90] The Men and Women, and especially the Girls, wear about their Necks Sea-shells of all Figures; they have likewise some Shells of about a Finger's length, made like little Pipes, which they wear at their Ears for Pendants; they have Girdles likewise, some made of Porcelain, others of Porcupines Hair, some of Bears Hair, and others of both mixt together.

The more considerable Savages carry at their Backs with much Gravity, a little Bag, wherein is their *Calumet* or Pipe, their Tobacco, their Steel to strike fire, and other Trifles. They have Skill enough to make a little Cloke or sort of Robe with dress'd Skins of Bears, Beavers, Otters, black Squirrels, Wolves, Lions, and other Animals: they put 'em on when they go to their Assemblies, where they sit as gravely when they are at Council, as the Senators of *Venice*. But the Savages of our last discovery betwixt the frozen Sea and new *Mexico*, appear always naked upon all occasions; from whence I took occasion to tell Father *Gabriel* one day, whilst we were

among the *Illinois*, that probably these Savages did not fin in *Adam*; because he cover'd himself with Leaves, and then had a Habit of Skins given him after he had finned: These Savages have really no manner of Shame to see themselves naked; nay they seem to glory in it. When they talk with one another, they often make use of those Terms, *Tchetanga*, which are obscene, and would make me write 'em down, when I was about composing a Dictionary, and they nam'd the Parts of the Body to me. Whatever I might say to Father *Gabriel de la Ribourd*, I am nevertheless perswaded by the Scripture, that all Mankind are descended from *Adam*; and therefore the Savages as well as others, are Sinners, and corrupted by their Birth, and that they will perish in their Sins if they don't receive the Gospel; for there is no other name by which Men can be saved, but the Name of Christ. [91] I know very well that Habits don't save any body; but in short, if these poor People would observe the Precepts of the Law of Nature, God would work a Miracle in their favour, rather than suffer 'em to perish in their Ignorance; and therefore he would lead 'em into the knowledg of the Truth, by means worthy of his Wisdom. But these unhappy Barbarians violate the Precepts of the Law of Nature, and live in Stupidity, and in the disorders of a dreadful Corruption, which makes them fit Subjects of God's Wrath. Mean time, Christians, who are guided by the saving Rays of Truth, ought to labour with all their power to bring these People out of Darkness, into the Light of the Gospel, and the Hopes of Salvation; so may they help to extend the King-

dom of Jesus Christ, and draw these poor People out of Condemnation. To this end they should establish strong Colonies, who by trafficking and conversing with the Barbarians, will dispose them to imitate them; engaging them, by works of Charity, their Instructions, and good Examples, and even by the temporal Advantages to be drawn from the Conversation of the Europeans, to embrace Christianity, and grow more tractable and gentle than they are yet.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Games and Sports of the Savages.

THE Savages of *North America*, have Games for Men, and some for Children. The Men commonly play with the Stones of certain Fruits that are red on one side, and black on t'other; they put 'em into a pretty large Wooden-platter, not very deep, or into a Bafon of Birchen-Bark, upon a Woollen-Blanket, on a dressed [92] Skin, upon a Robe of Bever, or upon a large Coat; they play six or seven together, but there are but two of them that take hold of the Platter with their two Hands, one after another; they lift it up, and strike the bottom of the Platter against the Ground, to huffle these six Nuts together: If there come up five red or five black all of a side, that's one Game won; for they make three or four Games up, more or less, according as they agree upon it. All the Gamesters play one after another. Some of the Savages are so addicted to this Game, that they play away all they have to their great Coat, and their furr'd Gown. When they are at play, they bawl as loud as they can shout, as earnestly as if the decision of an Empire were in agitation: and all this Noise is made as if the Chance were to be forc'd to fall on their side. When they shake the

Platter, they lay themselves over the Shoulders at such a rate, that they make themselves black and blue with the Blows. These Barbarians play often with Straws or Broom-sprigs, half a foot long, or thereabouts; one of them takes them all in his hand, and then without looking upon 'em, divides 'em into two parts, and gives one to his Adversary: he that has the even, or the odd Number, according to their Agreement, wins the Game.¹ The Children Savages likewise often play at this Game, but they don't follow it so eagerly as the Men, because they have nothing to stake. The Women or Girls dare not meddle with this Game, I don't know for what reason.

The Savages have another Game which is common among the European Children. They take some Grains of Indian Corn, or some such thing; then they put some into their Hand, and ask how many is there: he that guesses right, has the Game.

They have another Game that they are mightily pleas'd with, and which in the *Iroquoise* Tongue they call *Ounon bayenti*; but 'tis rather a sort of Traffick [93] and Barter than a Game: they go into two Cabins, fix into one and fix into t'other, then comes one with some Skins, Clothes, or what else they have a mind to truck; he goes to the Door of one Cabin, makes a certain Cry; and they within answer him: then he tells 'em, singing aloud, that he will sell or

¹ For full accounts of these and other games played by Indians, see *Jes. Relations*, index, *art.* Indians: social and economic life—games and recreations.—ED.

truck what he holds in his hands, repeating, *Ounon bayenti*: Those within the Cabin make answer with a hollow Voice, *Hon, Hon, Hon, Hon, Hon*, five times. The Crier or Seller having ended his Song, throws the Goods into the Cabin, and returns home.

Then the six in t'other Cabin, after they have conferr'd about the Price of the things that this Person threw into the Cabin, depute one of their Number to ask the Seller if he is willing to take in exchange, a great Coat, a Shirt, a pair of Shoes, or such like Commodity; and then a 2^d Person carries the Equivalent to the other Cabin, or else they deliver back their Goods again that they threw in, if they can't agree about it, or if it is not worth as much as what they offer in exchange.

These Ceremonies are accompany'd with Songs on all sides: sometimes whole Villages of Savages visit one another alternately, more for the diversion of this Game of *Ounon bayenti*, than to see one another. This word signifies a Bargain, where one gives to receive again. The *Iroquoise* Tongue has compound words in it; one of their Terms imports sometimes five or six French words, as the word *Gannoron* is as much as to say, This is an Affair of great Consequence.

Their Children have another Game. They take a Bow and two Sticks, one big, one little: they hold the little one in their right hand, and strike it up as high as they can with the other; another looks where it falls, and throws it up again to him that struck it. This Play has likewise something

in it [94] like some among the European Children. They likewise make a Ball of Rushes or Leaves of Indian Corn; they toss it up, and catch it upon the point of a stick. The great People, Men and Women, pass away the Winter-Nights a telling Stories over the Fire, like the Europeans.

CHAP. XXII.

The manner of making War among the Savages; they are very much given to Revenge.

THE Savages of *America* have almost all of them a strong Propension to War, because they are very Revengeful: when once they have taken a disgust to any one that is not of their own Nation, they must be reveng'd sooner or later, tho they wait an Opportunity to the third or fourth Generation. They are restless day and night till they have taken Satisfaction for an Affront, by destroying, if they can, most of that Nation they are enrag'd at: And then they make the rest dwell amongst them, and take up their way of living in every thing. The *Iroquois*, whom the Sweeds, then the Dutch, the English, and French, have furnished with Fire-Arms, are reckon'd at present the most Warlike of all the Savages yet known: They have slain the best Warriours among the *Hurons*, and forc'd the rest of that Nation to join with them, to make War together against all their Enemies situated 5 or 600 Leagues distant from their five Cantons. They have destroy'd above two Millions of Men, and are now actually at War with the Inhabitants of *Canada*.

If *France* do not send Succours of Ammunition and Provision to the *Canadians*, the *Iroquois* may be able [95] to ruin

them by the means I have mention'd in my former Volume.

These Barbarians can spoil their Neighbours, as we have seen by experience: we can gain nothing from them, because all we can plunder them of is worth little or nothing; this fierce Nation I say may easily ruin the Commerce of their Neighbours, who chiefly subsist by trafficking for Skins with the Savages. The European Colonies are not yet sufficiently established, and cannot subsist without Commerce, unless every thing necessary for Life be brought them by Ship; besides the *Iroquois* are mischievous and crafty, yet like wild Horses who don't know their own strength. They are certainly able to ruin their Neighbours, for some Reasons which 'tis not prudent to make publick. They had utterly ruin'd *Canada* long ago, if the Count *de Frontenac* had not won them by gentle Methods. They are the most formidable Enemies that the Europeans have in all *America*. I do but hint it here, but am assur'd of it, from what I know of those People; I dwelt four whole years among them; I have been sent in Ambassy to them, and they have carried themselves very friendly towards me.

This People have over-run many different Nations, and those who remain'd, after the defeat of the rest, have been always forc'd to submit to them. The *Iroquois* have considerable Men among them who are their Leaders, and Governours in their Voyages. They have those under their command that will follow them any where, and do all they are order'd: before they set out, they provide themselves

with good Firelocks, which they get in exchange from the Europeans for Skins, and Furs; they take Powder, Ball, Kettles, Hatchets, and other necessary Implements in War along with 'em. Sometimes they have young Women and Lads, that go along with [96] them, and in this Equipage they march three or four hundred Leagues.

When they come near the place where they design to make War, they march slowly, and with much Precaution; then they never kill Deer with their Fire-arms, for fear of being discover'd. They only use their Arrows upon that occasion, which make no noise in flying. When they would shoot, they look carefully round them, for fear of a Surprise. They send out Spies, to discover the entrance into the Villages, and see where best to begin their Attack: and if they see any one come out of the Village, they surprize and take him if they can, which often succeeds, for they do all their business treacherously.

There are no Warriours like them in all *America* for Ambuscades: They lay wait for Men hid behind a Tree, as tho their Design was upon some Beast. They count him a good Warriour that is cunning at surprizing his Enemies. If they can escape handsomly, after they have given their blow, from their Enemies, they are reckon'd incomparable Fellows. 'Tis not to be conceived how quick they skip round a Tree with their Firelock in their hands, to defend themselves from the Arrows that are shot against them. They are very nimble at leaping over the Trees that are

fallen down in the Woods as they run along: There are abundance of these Trees of a prodigious bigness, which fall with Age for want of Roots.

Their Patience is admirable. When they find they are cleverly hid, they'll tarry behind the Trees two or three days without eating, waiting a favourable opportunity to kill an Enemy: Sometimes they will shew themselves fairly, but that's very rare; and if they were not almost certain of their Blow, they would hardly expose themselves, at least if they were not back'd by a great number of their own Men. These Barbarians don't fight after the European [97] manner, because they are not disciplin'd to it, and can't keep their Ranks so well in open Field: So that they can't stand a Skirmish so well as our well-commanded Souldiers: Nevertheless when they are once heated and animated, they are incomparable.

They are so malicious, that they set fire to the Corn of their Europeans when they are dead: They burn their Houses, which they set fire to with lighted Cotton, fastned to the Point of their Arrows; for then the Fire takes hold of the Boards, or of the Straw that their Houses are thatch'd with; for the Savages let fly their Arrows with extraordinary Force, so the Houses are soon in flames.

There was an *Iroquois* Captain nam'd *Attréouati Onnontagé*, whom I know very well, that treated me very civilly in my Voyage from *Fort Frontenac* to *New York*; we call'd him *La grande Gueule*, because his Mouth was very broad. This Man having mis'd his aim once, ran into *Montreal* in *Canada*,



The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois

crying, *Hai, Hai*, which is a token of Peace: He was very kindly receiv'd, and made much of; nay, they gave him considerable Presents, because they had a mind to have a good Understanding with that insolent Nation. When he withdrew from that place, the perfidious Villain kill'd two Men that were thatching a House.

Some of them told us, that they had been at War as far as the Spanish Territories in *New Mexico*; for they said they had been in a Country where the Inhabitants gather'd red Earth, and carry'd it to sell to a Nation who gave them Hatchets and Kettles for it; and this they said was call'd *the Country of Gold*: but 'tis likely this Story was devised by the Savages to please Mr. *de la Salle* when he was at *Fort Frontenac*, for he greedily heard any one talk of the Golden Mines of *St. Barbe*. I have been among all the Nations of the River *Meschasipi*, none of whom except the *Illinois* ever mention'd the *Iroquois* otherwise than [98] as certain People, Neighbours of the *Illinois*, from whom they learnt that the *Iroquois* are a very cruel People, tho' not stout, but only because they have Fire-arms, which they bought of the Europeans: That without them they never durst attack the *Illinois*, who are valianter, and more dexterous at Bows and Arrows than the *Iroquois*.

Those *Iroquois* that don't go out to fight, are contemn'd, and pass for Cowards and effeminate Men. Because they have Firelocks, they invade all other Nations between both Seas, that is, from North to South: and no Nation in *America* can stand before the *Iroquois* on account of their Firelocks.

This renders them haughty and insufferable. They call themselves *Men* by way of Excellence, as tho other Nations were no more than Brutes in comparifon with them.¹ I understand very well how to bring the *Iroquois* to a better pafs: but a Man of my Character ought not to talk of these Matters but with a great deal of Caution, becaufe the Remedies which I would propofe, might perhaps be worfe than the Mifchief that might be apprehended from that Nation; neverthelefs I may difcover my Sentiments in due time to thofe high Perfons that put me upon writing this Work.

¹ This sort of arrogance was common to many other tribes; for instance, Illinois is but the Gallicized form of Illini, a variant of *irini*, "the men."—ED.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Cruelty of the Savages in general, and particularly of the Iroquois.

THERE are no Savages in all the Northern *America* but what are very cruel to their Enemies. We are astonish'd at the Cruelties which the *Neroes*, the *Dioclesians*, and the *Maximins* inflicted upon the Christians, and have their Names in Detestation and [99] Horror; but the Inhumanity of the *Iroquois* towards the Nations they make Slaves goes beyond theirs.

When the *Iroquois* have kill'd a Man, they tear off the Skin of his Scull, and carry it home with them as a certain Mark of their Victory. When they take a Slave, they tie him, and make him run after them; if he is unable to follow them, they stick their Hatchet into his Head, and there leave him, after they have torn off Skin and Hair together. They don't spare sucking infants: If the Slave can march after them, they tie him every Night to a piece of Wood made in the form of a *St. Andrew's Cross*, and leave him expos'd to be stung by the *Maringoins*, and other Flies, in Summer-time, and use him as cruelly as may be.

Sometimes they fix four Pegs into the Ground, to which they fasten their Slaves by the Feet and Hands, and so

leave them all Night long upon the Ground in the sharpest Weather. I omit a hundred other Sufferings which these miserable Wretches undergo in the day-time. When they are near their Villages, they set up loud Cries, whereby their Nation knows that their Warriours are return'd with Slaves. Then the Men and Women put on their best Apparel, and go to the entrance of the Village to receive them; there they make a lane for the Slaves to pass through them. But 'tis a lamentable Reception for these poor People: The Rabble fall upon them like Dogs or Wolves upon their Prey, and begin to torment them, whilst the Warriours march on in File, mightily puff'd up with their own Exploits.

Some kick the Slaves, some cudgel them, some cut them with Knives, some tear off their Ears, cut off their Noses or Lips, infomuch that most of them die in this pompous Entry. Those that resist against these rude Treatments, are reserv'd for exemplary Punishment. Sometimes they save some, but very [100] rarely. When the Warriours are entred into their Cabins, the Antients assemble themselves to hear the relation of what pass'd in the War.

If the Father of a Savage Woman has been kill'd, they give her a Slave for him, and 'tis free for that Woman either to put him to Death, or save him alive. When they burn them, this is their manner; They bind the Slave to a Post by the Hands and Feet, then they heat red-hot Musquet-barrels, Hatchets, and other Iron Instruments, and apply them red-hot from head to foot, all over their Body; they tear off their Nails, and pluck out their Teeth; they cut Collops of Flesh

out of their Backs, and often flea [flay] their Skin off from their Scull: After all this they throw hot Ashes upon their Wounds, cut out their Tongues, and treat them as cruelly as they can devise. If they don't die under all these Torments, they make them run and follow them, laying them on with Sticks. 'Tis reported, that once a Slave ran so well, that he sav'd himself in the Woods, and could not be catch'd again. 'Tis probable he died there for want of Succour. But what is more surprizing is, that the Slaves sing in the midst of their Torments, which frets their Executioners exceedingly.

An *Iroquois* told us that there was one Slave whom they tormented cruelly; but he told them, You have no Ingenuity, you don't know how to torment your Prisoners, you are mere Blockheads; if I had you in my Circumstances, I'd use you after another manner: but whilst he ran on so boldly, a Savage Woman gets a little Iron Spit heated red-hot, and runs it into his Yard: this made him roar; but he told the Woman, You are cunning, you understand something, this is the Course you should take with us.

When the Slave which they burn is dead, they eat him; and before his Death they make their Children [101] drink some of his Blood, to render them cruel and inhumane. Those that they give their Lives to, live with them, and serve them like Slaves: But in length of time they recover their Liberty, and are look'd upon as if they were of their own Nation.¹

¹ Regarding the treatment of Indian captives, see *Jes. Relations*, index, art. Indians: social and economic life — captives. — ED.

The Savages of the *Louifiana* that dwell along the River *Meschafipi*, and are situated seven or eight hundred Leagues beyond the *Iroquois*, as the *Iffati* and *Nadoueffans*, amongst whom I was a Slave, are not less brave than the *Iroquois*; they make all the Nations round them tremble, tho they have nothing but Bows, Arrows, and Maces. They run swifter than the *Iroquois*, and make excellent Souldiers; but they are not so cruel: they don't eat the Flesh of their Enemies; they are content to burn them only. Once having taken a *Huron*, who eat humane Flesh as the *Iroquois*, they cut off pieces of Flesh from his own Body, and said to him, You that love Man's Flesh, eat of your own, to let your Nation know, who now live among the *Iroquois*, that we detest and abominate your Barbarities; for these People are like hungry Dogs that devour any sort of Meat.¹

The *Iroquois* are the only Savages of *North America* that eat humane Flesh; and yet they don't do it but in cases extraordinary, when they are resolved to exterminate a whole Nation. They don't eat humane Flesh to satisfy their Appetites; 'tis to signify to the *Iroquoise* Nation, that they ought to fight without ever submitting to their Enemies; that they ought rather to eat them than leave any of them alive: They eat it to animate their Warriours; for they always march out of their five Cantons the day after, to fight with their Enemies; for the Rendezvous for next day is always given notice of by these Feasts of humane Flesh.²

¹ This story is told by Perrot (*Mémoire*, p. 103), of an Ottawa chief.—ED.

² See *Jes. Relations*, index, art. Cannibalism.—ED.

If the Europeans would leave furnishing the *Iroquois* with Fire-arms, who are not so dextrous at the Bow [102] as formerly they were, the other Nations on the contrary having always been us'd to it, they would infallibly root out the *Iroquois*, their common Enemies, who dwell four and five hundred Leagues off from them.

The first Canton of the *Iroquois* lies Southward; they call it *Gagniequez*, or *Agniez*; they are Neighbours to *New York*, and have three Villages which I have been in; they make up at most four hundred fighting Men. The Second lies Westward, and is call'd *Onneiouts*, and make up about a hundred and fifty fighting Men. The Third, which lies Westward likewise, contains the *Onnontaguez* or Mountaineers, a People situated upon the only Eminence in the five Cantons; they border upon the *Onneiouts*. These *Onnontaguez* have three hundred fighting Men, the bravest of the whole Nation. The Fourth lies about thirty Leagues further Westward, where live the *Oiouguens*, divided into three Villages, who make up three hundred fighting Men. The Fifth contains the *Tsonnontouans*, towards the further end of the Lake *Frontenac* or *Ontario*: These People are the greatest and most considerable of all the *Iroquois* Cantons. They comprehend in three Villages three hundred fighting Men.

I took notice in my first Volume of three or four *Iroquois* Villages on the North-side of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*; but I don't describe these five Cantons of the *Iroquois* here, I only treat of their Barbarity and Cruelty; and add, that they have subdued a very large Country since within these

fifty Years; that they have extended their Territories, and multiplied their Nation by the Destruction of other People, the Remainder of whom they have made Slaves, to encrease the number of their Troops.

[103] CHAP. XXIV.

The Policy of the Savage Iroquois.

THE Councils held continually by these Barbarians for ordering all Affairs, ought to be consider'd as the main Cause of their Preservation, and the fear all the Nations of *North America* are put in by them. They assemble for every little Business that is to be done, and consult what Methods they should take to gain their ends. They undertake nothing hand over head. Their old Men, who are wise and prudent, watch over the Publick. If one complains that some Person has robb'd him, they carefully inform themselves who it is that committed the Theft. If they can't find him out, or if he is not able to make restitution, provided they be satisfied of the truth of the Fact, they repair the Loss, by giving some Present to the injur'd Party, to his Content.

When they would put any body to death for an enormous Crime, which they are perswaded he is guilty of, they hire a Man, whom they make drunk with Brandy, (for these People are very greedy of it) that the Kinsfolks of the Criminal may not seek to revenge his Death. After this drunken Man has kill'd him whom they judg culpable, they give this account of

it, that he that flew him was mad and drunk when he struck the blow.¹ Formerly they had another way of doing Justice, but 'tis abrogated; They had a Feast once a Year, which we may call, *The Feast of Fools*, for they play'd the fool in good earnest, running about from Cabin to Cabin.² If during that day they fell foul upon any one, or took away any thing, the cunning old Men next day excus'd [104] all, by alledging that he that had done the Mischief was a Fool, and out of his Wits. Afterwards they made some Presents to wipe off the Tears of the Kindred of the Person who was maliciously kill'd. His Relations take up with that Excuse, without proceeding to take Vengeance. Then these Antients hir'd secretly some Person, who acted the Fool, and kill'd the Person pitch'd upon, whom they had a mind to get rid of.

The *Iroquois* have Spies and hir'd Men amongst them, who come and go perpetually, and tell them all the News they learn. They are crafty enough in Traffick, and are not easily cheated: They deliberate maturely upon every thing, and endeavour to understand the Merchandize before they truck for it.

The *Onnontagez*, or *Iroquois* Highlanders, are more subtle and crafty than the rest: They steal very cleverly. The *Algon-*

¹ Drunkenness was regarded by the Indians as a sufficient excuse for a crime committed under its influence; they held that the liquor, and not the man who drank it, was responsible for the deed; see *Jes. Relations*, liii, p. 257. — ED.

² An allusion to the Huron-Iroquois feast called Ononharoia, or "feast of dreams," wherein each person desired others to guess what he had dreamed, and to make him presents accordingly. See *Jes. Relations*, under the above title. — ED.

kains, the *Abenaki*, the *Esquimoves*, and abundance more Savages that have convers'd with the Europeans, are as sharp and politick as they. We are not to imagine that these People are Brutes, and irrational; no, they understand their own Interest thorowly, and order their Affairs very discreetly.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the manner of the Savages hunting of all sorts of wild Beasts; and of the admirable Industry of the Castors or Bevers.

THE Savages observe the Time, the Seasons, and the Moons of the Year very punctually, for the better ordering their Hunting. They call their [105] Moons from the Name of those Beasts which at certain Seasons appear the most. They call it the Moon of Frogs, when the Frogs make their greatest Croaking; the Moon of Bulls, when those wild Beasts appear; the Moon of Swallows, when those Birds come, and when they go. These Barbarians reckon thus, because they have no other Names to distinguish their Months by, as the Europeans have. They use the same Method for the Names of Men, calling them, Serpent, Wolf, wild Cat, &c.

They hunt the Elk and the Goat in all seasons, but more particularly when there is Snow. They hunt the wild Cat and the Marmoset¹ in Winter, the Porcupine, the Castor, and the Otter, in the Spring, and sometimes in Autumn. They take the Elk in a Gin by the Neck, and the Castor in Traps. They kill the Bears with Arrows or Shot, upon the Oaks,

¹This word should be "marmot," referring to the animal of that name, which is abundant in Canada and the northern United States. The genus is *Arctomys*; the two most common species are the hoary marmot, or whistler (*A. pruinosus*), and the woodchuck (*A. monax*).—ED.

when they eat the Acorns. As to the wild Cats, they fell the Tree they are upon, and then the wild Dogs¹ fall upon them and kill them. The Porcupines are taken almost in the same manner, with this only difference, that they kill them with a Hatchet or Fork when the Tree is fahn; for the Dogs cannot come near them, because of their Quills, which are sharper than Awls, and by little and little pierce a Man's Body in an imperceptible manner; and these Beasts would infallibly be the death of those Dogs that should attack them: These Beasts do not run swift, a Man may easily overtake them in running. They take the Otters in Traps, where they kill them with Arrows or Shot; they seldom kill them with Hatchets, because they are quick of hearing.

They take the Castors in Winter under the Ice: they first seek out for the Ponds where these Beasts frequent: The Castors shew an admirable Skill and Industry in the building of their little Cabins. When they change their abode, they seek out some [106] Brook in the Woods, and run upwards along the side of it till they come to some flat Country fit to make a Pond in; then after they have well viewed the place on every side, they begin to make a Dam to stop the Water: They make it as strong as the Dam of any Pond in *Europe*, of Wood, Earth, and Mud; and sometimes so big, that it will hold the Water of a Pond a quarter of a League long. They make their Cabins about the middle of the Level of the Water, with Wood, Rushes and Mud; and they plaister it all smoothly together with their Tails, which are longer,

¹Probably a mistranslation; it would better read "the dogs of the savages."—ED.

and full as broad as a Mason's Trowel. Their Buildings are three or four Stories high, filled almost full with Mats of Rushes; and in this place the Females bring forth their young ones.

At the bottom of the Water there are Passages higher and lower. When the Ponds are frozen over, they can only go under the Ice: And for this reason at the beginning of Winter they make a provision of Aspen Wood, which is their ordinary Food: They keep it in the Water round about their Cabins. The Savages pierce the Ice about the Cabin with the handle of a Hatchet, or a Stake; and when they have made a hole, they found the bottom of the Water to find out the *Castor's* Track: When they have found it out, they put in a Net a fathom long, and two Sticks, of which the two ends below touch the ground, and the two ends above come out at the hole which is made in the Ice. They have two Cords fixed to the Sticks to draw the Net when the *Castor* is taken.

But to the end this subtle Animal may not see the Net, nor the Men, they strow upon the Surface of the Ice rotten Wood, Cotton, and such like things. One Savage stays to watch near the Net with a Hatchet, to draw the *Castor* upon the Ice when he is taken, while the rest break down the Cabins with a great deal of labour: They often find more than a [107] foot of Wood and Earth, which they are forced to hew with a Hatchet, for it's frozen as hard as a Stone. When that is done, they found the Pond, and wheresoever they find a hole, they break the Ice for fear the *Castors* should hide themselves under it; so driving them from place to

place, at last they force them into the Net. They labour extream hard in this manner from Morning till Night without eating any thing, and for all that do not take above three or four *Castors*.

The Savages take also in the Spring these Beasts with Traps in the following manner. When the Ice begins to thaw, they observe the *Castor's* Passage, and set a Trap there; they bait that with a branch of the Aspin Tree, which reaches from the Trap into the Water. When the *Castor* finds, he eats it even in the Trap, and then falls upon two great Logs of Wood which kill him. They take the *Martens* almost in the same manner, with this difference only, that they put no Bait for them.

All the Southern Nations towards the River *Meschafpi* are more superstitious in their hunting than the Northern People, and particularly the *Iroques*. Whilst I was among them, their old Men, six days before the hunting of the wild Bulls, sent four or five of their most expert Hunters upon the Mountains to dance the *Calumet* with as many Ceremonies, as amongst the Nations to which they are wont to send Embassies, to make some Alliance. At the return of these Men, they openly exposed for three days together one of the great Caldrons they had taken from us: They had wreathed it round about with Feathers of divers Colours, and laid a Gun across over it. For three days together the chief Wife of a Captain carried this Caldron upon her Back, with Flowers in great Pomp, at the head of above two hundred Hunters: They all followed an old Man who had fastned [108] one of

our Indian Handkerchiefs to the end of a Pole like a Banner, holding his Bow and Arrows; he marched with great Gravity and Silence.

This old Man made the Hunters halt three or four times, to lament bitterly the Death of those Bulls they hop'd to kill. At the last Stage where they rested, the most antient of the Company sent two of their nimblest Hunters to discover wild Bulls. They whisper'd softly to them at their return, before they began the hunting of these Beasts. Afterwards they made a Fire of Bulls Dung dry'd in the Sun, and with this Fire they lighted their Pipes or *Calumets*, to smoak the two Hunters which had been sent to make the Discovery. Presently after this Ceremony was over, a hundred Men went on one side behind the Mountain, and a hundred on the other, to encompass the Bulls, which were in great numbers: They killed a great many in Confusion with their Arrows, and we Europeans seven or eight with Shot. These Barbarians did wonderfully admire the effect of our Guns: They heard the Report, but did not see the Bullets, and they thought it was the Noise that kill'd them; they laid their Hands on their Mouths, to show how much they were astonish'd, and cry'd out, *Manfa Ouacanbe*, which signifies in the Language of the *Iffati*, this Iron does harm to Men and Beasts: We do not know how it comes to pass, but we cannot sufficiently admire how the Noise of this round Instrument breaks the Bones of the largest Beast.

It was no small matter of Admiration to see these Savages flea [flay] the Bull, and get it in pieces; they had neither

Knives nor Hatchets, but some few they had stole from us, and yet they did it dexterously with the Point of their Arrows, which was made of a sharp Stone: Afterwards they took Stones, and broke the Bones, and with them they separated one piece [109] from another. After they had thus dismembred the Beast, their Wives dry'd them in the Sun, and the Smoak of small Fire, upon wooden Gridirons. While the Hunting lasts, they only eat the Intrals, and the worst pieces of those Beasts, and carry the best part home to their Villages, which are above two hundred Leagues from the place of hunting.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their manner of Fishing.

THE Savages that dwell in the North fish in a different manner from those of the South: The first catch all sorts of Fish with Nets, Hooks, and Harping-irons [*i. e.*, harpoons], as they do in *Europe*. I have seen them fish in a very pleasant manner: They take a Fork of Wood with two Grains or Points, and fit a Gin to it, almost the same way that in *France* they catch Partridges: After they put it in the Water, and when the Fish, which are in greater plenty by far than with us, go to pass through, and find they are entred into the Gin, they snap together this sort of Nippers or Pinchers, and catch the Fish by the Gills.

The *Iroques* in the fishing season sometimes make use of a Net of forty or fifty fathom long, which they put in a great *Canow*; after they cast it in an oval Form in convenient places in the Rivers. I have often admired their dexterity in this Affair. They take sometimes four hundred white Fish, besides many Sturgeons, which they draw to the Bank of the River with Nets made of Nettles.¹ To fish in this

¹ La Potherie describes (*Amér. Septentrionale*, iii, p. 34) the way in which the fibers of the nettle (*Urtica*) were spun by the Iroquois women into cords, with which they made fish-nets. See also Holmes's "Prehistoric Textile Art," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 3-46.—ED.

manner, there must be two Men at each end of the Net, to draw it dexterously to the shoar. They take [110] likewise a prodigious quantity of Fish in the River of *Niagara*, which are extremely well tasted.

The Fishery is so great in this place, that it's capable to furnish with Fish of several sorts the greatest City in *Europe*. It's not to be wonder'd at. The Fish continually swim up the River from the Sea towards the Spring, to find convenient places to spawn in. The River of *St. Laurence* receives in this part of *Niagara* an infinite quantity of Water from the four great Lakes of which we have spoke, and which may properly be called little fresh-water Seas. This great deluge of Water tumbling furiously over the greatest and most dreadful Leap in the World, an infinite number of Fish take great delight to spawn here, and as it were stagnate here, because they cannot get over this huge Cataract: So that the quantity taken here is incredible.

Whilst I was in the Mission of the Fort *Frontenac*, I went to see this Leap, which comes from a River in the North, and falls into a great *Bassin* of the Lake *Ontario*, big enough to hold a hundred Men of War. Being there, I taught the Savages to catch Fish with their Hands: I caused Trees to be cut down in the Spring, and to be rolled down to the Bank of the River, that I might lie upon them without wetting me; and after I thrust my Arm into the Water up to the Elbow, where I found a prodigious quantity of Fish of different Species; I laid hold on them by the Gills, gently stroking them; and when I had at several times taken fifty

or sixty large Fish, I went to warm and refresh me, that I might return fresher to the Sport: I cast them into a Sack which a Savage held in his hand. With these I fed above fifty *Iroquesse* Families of *Ganneouffe*, and by the assistance of *Monsieur de la Salle*, taught them to plant the Indian Corn, and to instruct their Children in the Christian Religion at the Fort *Frontenac*.

[111] The most considerable Fishery of the Savages is that of Eels, which are very large, of Salmons, and Salmon-trouts, and white Fish. The Fishery of the *Iroques Agnies* which are near *New York*, is of Frogs, which they take, and put them whole into their Caldrons without skinning them, to season their *Sagamite*, which is a sort of Pottage made of Indian Corn. The Salmon-trouts are taken in many other places of the Rivers which fall into the Lake of *Frontenac*: There are there such quantities of them, that they kill them with Sticks.

They take the Eels in the Night when it's calm: These come down all along the River of *St. Laurence*, and are taken in this manner. The Savages put a large Bark of the Birch-Tree, with some Earth upon the end of a Stake, after which they light a sort of a Flambleau which gives a clear Light; after that one or two go into a *Canow*, with a Harping-Iron placed between the two Grains of a little Fork: when they see the Eels by the light of the Fire, they strike an infinite quantity of them, because the great white Porposes which pursue them make them fly towards the Banks of the River where the Porpose cannot follow, because of the shallowness

of the Water. They take Salmon with Harping-Irons, and the white Fish with Nets.

The Southern People which dwell upon the River *Mefchafpi* are so crafty, and have such quick and piercing Eyes, that tho the Fish swim very fast, they will not fail to strike them with Darts a great depth in the Water, which they shoot with a Bow. Besides, they have long Poles sharp at one end, which they dart most dexterously: In this manner they kill great Sturgeons, and Trouts, which are seven or eight fathom in the Water.

[112] CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Utensils of the Savages in their Cabins; and of the extraordinary manner they strike Fire.

BEFORE the Europeans arrived in the *North America*, the Savages of the North and the South made use (as they do even to this day) of Pots of Earth¹; especially those that have no Commerce with the Europeans, and can procure no Caldrons or other Utensils: Instead of Hatchets and Knives, they make use of sharp Stones, which they tie with Thongs of Leather in the end of a cleft Stick. Instead of Awls, they make use of a certain sharp Bone, which is above the Heel of the Elk: They have no Fire-Arms, but only make use of Bows and Arrows.

For to make Fire in a new manner, new, and quite unknown to us, they take a Triangle of Cedar Wood, of a foot and half, in which they make some Holes of a small depth: After they take a Switch or little Stick of hard Wood; they twirl it between both their Hands in the Hole, and by the quick Motion, produce a kind of Dust or Meal, which is converted into Fire; after they pour out this white Poudre

¹ Regarding the use of pottery among the Indian tribes, see Beauchamp's "Earthenware of the New York Aborigines" (No. 22 of N. Y. State Museum *Bulletins*); Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1882-83, pp. 367-463.—ED.

upon a Bunch of dried Herbs, and rubbing altogether, and blowing upon this Pouder, which is upon the Herbs, the Fire blazes in a moment.

When they would make Platters, or wooden Spoons, or Porringers, they drill their Wood with their stone Hatchets, and hollow it with Fire, and do after scrape it, and polish it with a Bever's Tooth.

[113] The Northern Nations, who have commonly very sharp Winters, make use of Rackets to go over the Snow; they make them of the Thongs of Skins cut out as broad as little Ribbons, neater than our Tennis Rackets: These Rackets have no Handles, as those of the Tennis Court, but they are longer and broader; they leave in the middle a Slit the breadth of their Toes, that they may be at more liberty to walk with their savage Shoes: They will perform a greater Journey in a Day than without them. Without these Rackets they would sink into the Snow, which is commonly six or seven foot deep, and sometimes more in Winter; in some places it's higher than the highest Houses in *Europe*, being driven into Mountains by the Wind.

Those Savages which are near the Europeans, have at present Guns, Hatchets, Caldrons, Awls, Knives, Tongs, and such like Utenfils,

To plant their Indian Corn, they make use of Pickax's of Wood, for want of those of Iron: They have large Gourds in which they put the Fat of Bears, wild Cats, &c. There is none, but has his leather Bag for his Pipe and Tobacco. The Women make Bags of the Rind of *Linden* Tree, or of Rushes,

to put their Corn in: They make Thred of Nettles, and of the Bark of the *Line* Tree, and of certain Roots, whose Names I know not. To sew their savage Shoes they make use of very small Thongs: They make likewise Mats of Bulrushes to lie upon; and when they have none, they make use of the Barks of Trees. They swathe their Children as the European Women do, with this only difference, that they make use of swathing Bands of large Skins, and a sort of Cotton, that they may not be too hot: After they have swathed them, they tie them upon a Board, or Plank with a Skin Girdle; after they hang this Plank upon the Branch of a Tree, or in some place [114] of their Cabin, so that their little ones never lie in Bed; they hang perpendicularly: And to the end their Urine may not hurt them, they place conveniently a piece of Birch-tree Bark; so that it runs away as it were in a Gutter, and touches not the Child's Body.

These Women have so great a care of their Children, that they avoid all carnal Commerce with their Husbands, till the Child be three or four Years old: The European Women do not so, because 'tis easy to supply the defect of the Mother's Milk, with the Milk of Cows, and other domestick Animals; but they have none of this sort of Cattel: They avoid therefore the Commerce of their Husbands while they are Nurfes; for if they should prove with child, their Infants would undoubtedly perish, they having nothing suitable for a Child of seven or eight Months old.

The Savages which have Commerce with the Europeans,

begin to make use of Iron Crooks and Pot-hooks, which they hang upon a Stick, which rests upon two-forked Sticks fixed in the Ground: but those that have no Commerce, make use of the Branches of Trees to hang their earthen Pots upon to boil their Victuals.

[115] CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Manner of their Interring their Dead: Of the Festival of the Dead, with some Reflections on the Immortality of the Soul.

THE Savages bury their Dead with the greatest Magnificence they can devise, especially their Relations, and particularly their Captains or Heads of their Clans or Tribes: They put on their best Attire, and paint their Face and Body with all sorts of Colours. They put them in a sort of Coffin made of the Bark of Trees, and they polish the outside neatly with light Pumice Stones; and they make a Place where they bury them in the manner of a *Mausoleum*, which they encompass round about with Stakes or Palisades twelve or thirteen foot high.

These Mausoleums are commonly erected in the most eminent Place of their Savage Borough. They send every Year solemn Embassies to their neighbouring Nations, to solemnize the Feast of the Dead. All the People of the Northern *America* spare nothing to honour their dead Friends and Relations, whom they go to lament: They make Presents esteemed among them very considerable, as Girdles dyed with Sea-Purple, and Pipes made with the most precious Stones that can be found; and in a word with what they look upon to be the most estimable to the Parents of the

Defunct. They conduct them to the Mausoleum, muttering a sort of Prayers, accompanied with Tears and Sighs, before the Bones, whose Memory they honour for their great Exploits in Peace and War.

[116] These Savages have particular Ceremonies for the Children of their deceas'd Friends: When they design to bury these little ones, as soon as they are dead they wrap their Bodies in a white pinked Skin in the presence of their Parents; it's painted with many Colours: After they carry it and place it upon a kind of Sledg, and so carry it to be buried: but instead of making Presents to the Parents of the deceased Infants, as they do for those of riper Years, they themselves receive them to wipe away their Tears, which they shed in abundance, in the presence of the Parents.

The Savages have likewise a Custom of putting in the Coffin of the deceased of riper Years, whatever they esteem valuable, tho to the value of two or three hundred Crowns: They put there Shoes of pinked Skins, garnished with red and black Porcupine, a Pair of Tongs, a Hatchet, Necklaces of Purple,¹ a Pipe, a Caldron, and a potful of *Sagamite*, or Pottage of Indian Corn, with some fat Meat. If he be a Man, they bury him with a Gun, Powder, and Ball; but those that have no Fire-Arms, content themselves with putting in their Coffin their Bows and Arrows, that when they are in the *Country of Souls* (as they phrase it) and of the Dead, they may make use of them in Hunting.

¹ That is, of wampum beads of the purple variety, regarded by the Indians as more valuable than the white.—Ed.

When I was among the *Iffati Nadoueffans*, there died one of the Savages, that had been bit with a Rattle-Snake; I came not time enough to give him my infallible Remedy, *viz.* Orvietan in Pouders. If this Accident happened to any one in my presence, I made them presently be scarified upon the place that was bit, and cast some of the Pouders upon it; afterward I made them swallow some of it, to keep the Poison from the Heart. These Barbarians strangely admired me, that I cured one of their Chieftains, that had been bit by one of these Serpents: [117] They said to me, *Spirit*, for so they call all *Europeans*, we fought after you, and the other two *Spirits* your Companions; but we were so unfortunate, that we could not find you; leave us no more, we'll take care of you for the future: if you had been with us, our Chieftain, whom you see dead, would have been in a condition to have been merry with you: He was excellently well versed in the trade of surprizing and killing his Enemies; he with hunting maintained his ten Wives: He would have been in a condition to have been your Benefactor, if you had been here to save his Life: You could have done it easily, since you have cured so many of our Relations; you would have done him this important piece of Service, and spared our Tears.

These poor People seeing our Method, but not comprehending it, believe we are capable of doing any thing even of arresting Death: They often admired the effects of the Remedies, which I gave to their Sick, with a design to cure their Spiritual Maladies, in bringing them to the Knowledge of the true God, by the Care I took of their Bodies.

I admired how neatly these Savages had laid out the dead Corps; they had laid him upon fine Mats, and put him in the posture of a Warriour, with his Bow and Arrows: They painted his Body with divers Colours; one would have thought at first he had been alive. They said I must give him some Tobacco of *Martineco*, of which I had a small quantity, that the Defunct might have something to smok: This gave me an occasion to tell them, that the dead did neither smok nor eat in the Country of *Souls*, and that they have no more need of Bows and Arrows; for in the Country whither those Souls go, they go no more a hunting: That if they would learn to know the great Captain, they would be so much satisfied with seeing him, that they would think no [118] more of Hunting, neither of eating or drinking; for the Souls do not need it.

They made but a gross Conception of what I said to them: afterwards I made them a Present of two Fathom of our black Tobacco; they love it passionately: Theirs is not so well cured, nor so strong as that of *Martineco*, of which I made them a Present. I made them understand, that I gave it them to smok, and not to the deceased, because he had no need of it. Some of those Savages present gave me an attentive Ear, and were pleased with my Discourse of another Life; others said in their Language, *Tepatoui*, which is as much as to say *very well*: Afterwards they sat them down, and fell a smoking, taking no further notice of my Discourse.

I observed that the Tears which they shed, and the Ceremonies they practised, as rubbing the Defunct with Bears

Fat, and such like things, were rather the Effects of Custom, derived to them by Tradition, which seems to retain something of Judaism, than of any strong *Attache* [attachment] they have for them. I do not absolutely despair of the future Salvation of these Barbarians. I believe God will raise up some proper means to enlighten them with the Light of the Gospel; for his Holy Gospel is to be preached to all the World before the Day of Judgment.

[119] CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Superstitions of the Savages, and of the ridiculous things they believe.

I ALWAYS observed that the strongest Arguments that can be brought for the Conversion of Infidels are of no value till God give a Blessing. How shall they believe in him whom they have not heard speak? says *St. Paul*. How shall they understand, if some do not preach to them? And how shall they preach if they be not sent? The sound of the Apostles is gone through the World, and their Words are heard even to the ends of the World. I ardently beg that the sound of the Successors of the Apostles may bring to the Pastures of Life that infinite number of Savages which I have seen in my Travels. Great pains have been taken a long time, but as yet no considerable progress is made, for the generality of them are strongly fixed in their Superstitions.

These Barbarians are one more superstitious than another, the Old Men especially; and the Women most obstinately retain the Traditions of their Ancestors. When I told them it was a Foolery to believe so many Dreams and Fancies; they ask'd me how old I was? You are not above thirty five or forty years old, and do you pretend to know more than our Antient Men? Go, go, you know not what you say;

you may know what passes in your own Country, because your Ancestors have told you, but you cannot tell what has passed in ours, before the *Spirits*, that's to say the Europeans, came hither.

I reply'd to these Barbarians, that we knew all by the Scripture, which the great Master of Life has given [120] us by his Son; that this Son died to deliver Men from a place where burns an eternal Fire, which would have been their lot, if he had not come into the World to save us from Sin and from Death; that all Mankind were Sinners in *Adam*, the first Man of the World. These Savages, who have a large share of common Sense, often ask'd me, Did you *Spirits* know of our being here before you came hither? I answered them, No: You do not learn therefore all things by Scripture; it tells you not all things, reply'd they.

It requires a great deal of time to shew them the Falsity of their Superstitions, and much more to persuade them to embrace the Verities of the Gospel: There's none but God can do it by the Unction of his Grace and Holy Spirit. But for all this the Evangelical Reapers must not desert the Harvest. A time will come that Men will prefer the Interests of Jesus Christ, before their own: then there will be but one Shepherd, and one Sheepfold.

There are many of the Savages that make the Stories of their Antients the subject of their Raillery, but others believe them. I have formerly given an account of the Sentiments they have of their Origine, and of the Cure of their Maladies. They have some Sentiments of the Immortality

of the Soul. They say there is a delicious Country towards the West, where there's good Hunting, and where they kill as many Beasts as they please. It's thither they say their Souls go. They hope to see one another there. But they are yet more ridiculous, in believing that the Souls of Caldrons, Guns and other Arms, which they place near the Sepulchre of the Dead, go with them to be made use of in the Country of Souls.

A young Savage Maid dying after Baptism, the Mother seeing one of her Slaves at the point of Death, said, my Daughter is all alone in the Country of the Dead, among the Europeans, without Relations, [121] and without Friends: The Spring is at hand; it's time to sow Indian Corn, and Citruls,¹ or Pompions; baptize my Slave, says she, that she may go and serve my Daughter in the Country of the Europeans.²

A Savage Woman being at the last Gasps, cried out that she would not be baptized, for the Savages that die Christians are burned in the Country of Souls by the Europeans. Some of them told me one day, that we baptized them to make them our Slaves in the other World. Others asked me, if there was good Hunting in the Country, whither their dying newly baptized Infants were going? When I answer'd them, that they lived there without eating and drinking, because they are there satiated with the Contemplation of the great Master of Life: We will not go thither, say they, be-

¹ Fr. *citronilles*; the summer squash (*Cucurbita polymorpha*).—ED.

² This story is told of a Seneca woman, in *Jcs. Relations*, liv, pp. 93-95.—ED.

cause we must eat. If we reply that they will have no need of Food, they clap their Hands upon their Mouths in sign of Admiration, and say, you are a great Liar; Can one live without eating?

A Savage told us one day this Story: One of our old Men, says he, being dead, and being come to the Country of Souls, he found there first Europeans that careffed him, and made much of him; after he came to the place where his Country-men were, who likewise received him very kindly: There were Feasts there every day, to which the Europeans were often invited; for there are there neither Quarrels nor War: After this old Man had taken a full view of the Country, he returned home, and recounted all his Adventures to those of his Nation. We asked the Savage if he believed this Story? He answered, No, that their Ancestors related it, but they might tell a Lie.

These People admit some sort of Genius in every thing; they all believe one Master of Life, but they make divers applications of it. Some have a lean [122] Crow, which they carry always about with them, and which they call their Master of Life. Others have an Owl, others a Bone, some the Shell of a Fish, and such like things. When they hear the Owl hout, they tremble, and take it for an ill Omen. They are great believers of Dreams. They go unto their Baths to procure good weather for Hunting. They never give the Bones of Bevers or Otters to their Dogs. I asked them the reason; they answered me, that there was an *Otkon*, or Spirit, in the Wood which would tell the Bevers and Ot-

ters, and after that they would catch none. I asked them what that Spirit was; they answered me that it was a Woman that knew every thing, who was the Lady of Hunting. But the greatest part of them do not believe these Fables.

Whilst I was in the Mission of *Frontenac*, a Savage Woman was poisoned in the Wood by accident: The Hunters brought her into her Cabin; I went to see her after she was dead. I heard them discoursing near the Body of the Dead; they said they had seen upon the Snow the winding Tracts of a Serpent which came out of her Mouth. They related this very seriously. While they were discoursing thus, an old superstitious Beldam said, she had seen the Spirit that had killed her.

I have seen a Boy of about eighteen years old, who believed himself to be a Girl; and this Fancy wrought so strongly upon him, that he acted all things accordingly: He habited himself like a Girl, and employed himself in their sort of work. A Savage which we had decoyed into the Fort, and who was the Chief of his Village, told me one day that *Ontio*, which is the Name they give to the Governour-General of *Canada*, who at that time was the Count of *Frontenac*, would come such a day, when the Sun was in such a place: which precisely came to pass as he had [123] said. This same old Man, who was called *Ganneouse Kaera*, that is to say, the bearded, was the only Man of all the Savages which I saw with a Beard. The People of the Northern *America* commonly pluck away the Beard when it is but Down, and for this reason they have no Beards. I must confess I knew not what

to say when I saw the Count *de Frontenac* arrive. This Man had heard no News from any body. When I asked him how he came to know it; he said he had learned it of a Jugler who pretended to foretel things. But I believe their Predictions are rather the effect of Hazard, than of any Commerce they have with the Devil.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Obstacles that are found in the Conversion of the Savages.

THERE are many Obstacles that hinder the Conversion of the Savages; but in general the difficulty proceeds from the indifferency they have to every thing. When one speaks to them of the Creation of the World, and of the Mysteries of the Christian Religion; they say we have Reason: and they applaud in general all that we say on the grand Affair of our Salvation. They would think themselves guilty of a great Incivility, if they should shew the least suspicion of Incredulity, in respect of what is proposed. But after having approved all the Discourses upon these Matters; they pretend likewise on their side, that we ought to pay all possible Deference to the Relations and Reasonings that they make on their part. And when we make answer, That what they tell us is false; they reply, that they have acquiesced [124] to all that we said, and that it's want of Judgment to interrupt a Man that speaks, and to tell him that he advances a false Proposition. All that you have taught touching those of your Country, is as you say: But it's not the same as to us, who are of another Nation, and inhabit the Lands which are on this side the great Lake.

The second Obstacle which hinders their Conversion, pro-

ceeds from their great Superstition, as we have insinuated before.

The third Obstacle consists in this, that they are not fixt to a place. While I was at Fort *Frontenac*, Father *Luke Buisset*, and my self, were employed a great part of the Year to teach many Children our ordinary Prayers, and to read in the *Iroquois* Language; their Parents assisted at the Service in the Chappel: they lift up their Hands to Heaven, and kneeled, beating their Breasts, and behaved themselves with great respect in our Presence. They seemed to be moved with our Ceremonies; but they did so to please us, and their only aim seemed to be to get some Presents from the Europeans.

But in case they had had some laudable Design, they would quickly have renounced it, because they stay no longer in their Villages than till Harvest be over, which is but a small time: All the rest of the Year they pass in Wars and Hunting. Then they carry their Families with them, and are absent eight or nine Months: Their Children then, which have begun to learn something, forget all, and fall to their former Superstitions and methods of living. Besides, their Juglers, and their old Superstitious Men, minding nothing but their Interest, endeavour to create in them a hatred towards us, lest they should believe what we teach them.

The Merchants who deal commonly with the Savages, with a design to gain by their Traffick, are [125] likewise another Obstacle: St. *Augustine* long since said of them, *Continua est in illis meditatio doli, & tritura mendacii*; They think

of nothing but cheating and lying, to become rich in a short time. They use all manner of Stratagems to get the Furs of the Savages cheap. They make use of Lies and Cheats to gain double if they can. This without doubt causes an aversion against a Religion which they see accompanied by the Professors of it with so many Artifices and Cheats.

It must likewise be confessed, that there are some Missionaries which in part hinder the progress. It's hard to learn their Languages, they being so different one from another, that they are nothing like. There is then required a great deal of time to be able to teach them the Mysteries of our Religion; and unless the Holy Ghost inspire extraordinarily, little Fruit is to be expected from these barbarous People.

Besides, the different methods that are used to instruct them, retard much their Conversion. One begins by the Animal part, and another by the Spiritual. There are diversity of Beliefs among the Christians; every one abounds in his own Sense, and believes his own Faith the purest, and his Method the best. There ought therefore to be an uniformity in Belief and Method, as there is but one Truth, and one Redeemer, otherwise these Barbarians will not know what to resolve.

I put a great deal of difference between the zeal and indefatigable pains of the Missioners, and the pretended Successes which are vaunted of in the World. They who are absolutely disengaged from the love of Riches, and who have been in the Mission among the People of the Southern *America*, have without doubt made a great progress in those

Countries. There are forty or fifty Provinces of our Order, where the publick Service is performed. They are in possession [126] to preach with Authority, after having destroyed Idolatry.

But we must confess, that those who have laboured in the Northern *America*, have not had the same progress. They have made it their application to civilize those barbarous People, and make them capable of something of *Policy*. They have endeavoured to put a stop to the Current of their Brutal Sallies, and so prepare the way of our Lord: notwithstanding we must confess they have made little Progress. These barbarous Nations, by I know not what fatality of Interest, are almost as Savage, and have as great an *Attache* to their antient Maxims, to Gluttony, Pride, Curfing and Cruelty, and a thousand other abominable Vices as ever.

They are the same they were forty years ago, and above: And yet many Books are published of the great Conversions of the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*. We were told for certain, that these Barbarians had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had destroyed, and yet they are still Enemies of all the good Maxims of Christianity.

I do not deny here but that the Missionaries have faithfully discharged their Ministry: But the Seed has fallen upon an ungrateful Soil, either on the Highway, or among the Thorns; so that they'll remain inexcusable at the day of Judgment, having resisted so clear Convictions.

Be it as it will, every day a great many Children are

baptized, and some grown Men on their Death-beds if they desire it, which is a great step to Eternity: But as to those in Health, few are converted, and fewer persevere. But the Pains, and the entire Sacrifice of the Life of a Missionary, would be well employ'd, and gloriously recompens'd, if they had had the Happiness to convert and save one only Soul.

[127] The principal and most assured part of a Missioner consists in the Administration of the Sacraments to those who go to barter among the Savages. And we may to our shame truly say, that as soon as the Furs and the Bevers begin to grow scarce among the Savages, the Europeans retire, and not one is to be found. The Savages reproached us with it once in the Presence of Monsieur the Count *de Frontenac*, in full Council, at the three Rivers of *Canada*, saying, While we have Bevers and Furs, he that prayed was with us; he instructed our Children, and taught them their Prayers and Catechisms; he was inseparable from us, and honoured us sometimes at our Feasts: but when our Merchandize failed, these Missioners thought they could do no further Service among us.

It's likewise true, that the greatest part of those Missions which were established above forty Years ago have failed: Witness those of the great Bay of *St. Lawrence*, of *Ristigouch*, of *Nipisiguit*, of *Miskou*, *Cape Breton*, *Port-royal*, of the River *Wolf*, of the Cape of *St. Mary Magdalen*, of the three Rivers, and many more which were established among the *Hurons* at

the head of this River.¹ Those that were Missionaries in those Parts, thought good to quit them, and even *Tadoussac* it self, to establish themselves at *Cbigoutimi*.

If God give me Health and Life, in a third Tome I'll give an account of other Obstacles more considerable, which hinder the propagation of the Gospel: I'll only say in this place, that those that would employ themselves to the purpose in those Parts in this painful Ministry, must tread under foot the Riches of the World, and content themselves with a mean Subsistence, according to the Doctrine of the Apostles.

¹ Miscou (Miskou) is a small island at the mouth of Baie des Chaleurs, the inlet separating New Brunswick and Gaspé. Restigouche and Nepisiguit are rivers flowing into that bay. Port Royal is the early name of Annapolis in Nova Scotia (Acadia). By "River Wolf" is meant Rivière du Loup, a river in Kamouraska and Temiscouata counties, Que. Cap de la Magdelaine was the headland near Laprairie, in the vicinity of Montreal. Three Rivers is a town at the mouth of the River St. Maurice, above Quebec. Jesuit missions had been conducted at all these places, but many of them were for various reasons abandoned at the time when Hennepin wrote. In some cases, the Indians had removed to other places, or had been exterminated by pestilence, famine, or intemperance. The Acadian missions were transferred to the Capuchins, after the retrocession of Canada to France (1632). The Laprairie mission was transferred (1676) to the present Caughnawaga, opposite Montreal. "The Hurons at the head of this River" is a vague and inaccurate phrase. The Huron missions were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649-50; and the remnants of that people were scattered in various directions. — ED.

[128] CHAP. XXXI.

Of the barbarous and uncivil Manners of the Savages.

THE Savages have small regard to the Civilities of *Europe*: They make a Mockery of the Civilities we use one to another: When they come to a place, they seldom salute those that are there: They sit upon their Breech, and have no regard even to those that come to visit them. They enter into the first Cabin they meet with, without speaking a word: They take a Seat where they can, and after light their Pipe or *Calumet*: They smook without saying any thing, and even so go away again.

When they enter into a House built and furnished after the European Mode, they take the chief place: If there be a Chair before the middle of the Fire, they seize upon it, and never rise up for any body, tho he were a Prince or a King. They look upon themselves as the best Men of the World.

In the Northern Parts the Men and Women hide nothing but their Nakedness; all else is exposed to view. The Savages of the South are quite naked, having not the least sentiment of Shame: They do the Necessities of Nature before all the World, without the least scruple, and without regard to any Man. They treat their Elders with great Incivility when

they are out of Council. The common Discourse both of Men and Women is down-right Bawdy.

But as to the Commerce which Men have with their Wives, for the most part it's in private: But sometimes it's done with so little Precaution, that they are often surprized. Besides, the Savages observe [129] none of the Rules of that natural Honesty which is used among the Europeans of both Sexes. They never practise any Caresses or Endearments, which are common among the People of *Europe*; all is done grossly, and with a great deal of Brutality.

They never wash their Platters made of Wood or Bark, nor their Spoons. When the Savage Women have cleaned their little Infants with their hands, they wipe them very superficially upon a piece of Bark, after which they will handle the Meat that they eat. This often turned my Stomach, that I could not eat with them when I was invited to their Cabins. They seldom or never wash their Hands or Face.

The Children shew but small Respect to their Parents: Sometimes they will beat them without being chastised for it; for they think Correction would intimidate them, and make them bad Souldiers. They eat sometimes snuffing and blowing like Beasts. As soon as they enter into a Cabin, they fall a smoaking. If they find a Pot covered, they make no difficulty to take off the Lid to see what's in it. They eat in the Platter where their Dogs have eaten, without wiping it. When they eat fat Meat, they rub their Hands upon their Face and Hair to clean them: They are perpetually belching.

Those that have trucked Shirts with the Europeans, never wash them; they commonly let them rot on their backs: They seldom cut their Nails: They seldom wash the Meat they dress. Their Cabins in the North are commonly filthy. I was surprized one day to see an old Woman bite the Hair of a Child, and eat the Lice. The Women are not ashamed to make water before all the World: but they had rather go a League in the Woods than any body should see them go to stool. When the Children have pissed their Coverlets, they cast away their [130] piss with their hands. One may often see them eat lying along like Dogs. In a word, they act every thing brutally.

For all that there are many things found among them honest and civil. When any one enters into their Cabins when they are eating, they commonly present him with a plate-full of Meat, and they are extremely pleased when all is eaten that they give. They had rather fast two days without Victuals, than let you go without heartily presenting you with part of all they have. If by chance the Portions be distributed when one comes in, the Wife who makes the Distribution orders the matter so, that she gives [her] share to the New-comer.

Some Savages presented us the finest Mats, and the best place in the Cabin, when we paid them a Visit. Those who frequent the Company of Europeans, salute us when they meet us. It's likewise the Custom of these People to return Present for Present.

Altho they shew small Respect to their old Men, yet they

have a great Deference for their Counfels. They follow them exactly, and confefs that they have more Experience, and know Affairs better than themfelves. If an antient Man fhould fay to a young Man, by way of Reproach, before others, *Tbou haft no Wit*, he would prefently go and poison himfelf, they are fo fenfible of Ignominy and Difgrace. In the Affemblies which are held for debating their Affairs, the young People dare not fay a word unlefs they be asked.

In their Feafts they often give to the moft confiderable of the reft the whole Head of the Beaft which they have killed, or the beft portion of what is drefsed: They never eat on the fame Plate, unlefs it be in War, for then they obferve no meafures. They have a great Deference for the old Men, in that they leave them the whole Government [131] of Affairs, which is efteemed honourable among them.

There are few that falute after the mode of *Europe*. I knew a Savage who was called *Garagontie*,¹ which is as much as to fay, the Sun that moves; he one day made an Harangue before Monfieur the Count of *Frontenac*; and every time he began a new Difcourfe, he took off his Cap, and made a Speech like an Orator. Another Captain of the *Hojogoins* [Cayugas] feeing his little Daughter which he had given to the Count *de Frontenac* to be inftructed, faid very civilly to him, *Onnontio*, (for fo they call the Governour of *Canada*, which word fignifies a beautiful Mountain) thou art the Mafter of this Girl; order the bufinefs fo that ſhe may

¹ Or Garakontié; a converted Onondaga chief, who greatly aided the Jesuit missionaries among his people.— ED.

learn to write and read well; and when she grows great, either send her home, or take her for a Wife. Which shows you, that the *Iroquois* look upon themselves as much as the greatest Persons in the World. (x)

I knew another *Iroques* who was called *Atreovati*,¹ which signifies *great Throat*: this Man eat as the Europeans do; he washed his Hands in a Basin with the Governour; he sat last down at the Table, and opened his Napkin handsomely, and eat with his Fork; and did all things after our mode: But often he did it out of Craft or Imitation, to get some Present from the Governour. The Count *de Frontenac* was very complaisant with these Savages; because he knew that the *Iroquois* were the Enemies most to be dreaded by the French, of all the People in the North *America*.

¹ Otrewa'ti, an Onondaga chief; called by the French Grande Gueule ("Big Throat"), a name afterward corrupted into Garangula.—ED.

(2) The name of Big Mouth
was Haashouan
aah + gogwaan
doh. III. 1009

[132] CHAP. XXXII.

Of the great Indifferency of the Humours of the Savages.

GENERALLY speaking, all the Savages of the Nations I have seen in the Northern *America*, have an extream Indifference for all things: They have no particular *Attache* to any thing, and set no great value upon the most precious thing they have: They look upon every thing as very much below them; and if they had a thousand Crowns, or any thing of equal value, they would part with it without trouble, and give it all to have what they desire. But of all the Northern Nations there is none so indifferent as the *Iroquois*: they look upon themselves as Masters of other People, and have often dared to declare War against the French in *Canada*, and would have conquered it if they had known their Forces.

Notwithstanding, their Indifference for all things either of Peace or War, often induced them to make a counterfeit Peace with those of *Canada*. Besides, they are perswaded, that unless one send great Reinforcements thither, they can absolutely destroy them when they please, and ruin the Commerce. Let the Efforts be never so great against them, they can never extirpate them; and it will never pay the Charges which will be necessary to do it: There is nothing but blows to be got; and it will be a difficult thing to defend ones self

from their Treacheries: One can get but small Booties among them.

Their Indifference is such, that there is nothing like it under the copes of Heaven: They have a great Complaisance for all that is said to them, and in appearance [133] do all seriously you entreat them to do. When we say to them, Pray to God with us, they presently do it, and answer word for word, according to the Prayers they have been taught in their Tongue. Kneel down, they kneel; take off your Bonnet, they take it off; hold your tongue, they do it. If one say to them, Hear me, they hearken diligently. If one give them some Image, Crucifix, or Beads, they use them as Jewels to adorn themselves with. When I said to them, To-morrow is *Sunday*, or Prayer-day, they answered me, *Niaora*, that's well, I am content. I said to them sometimes, Promise the great Master of Life never to be drunk any more; they answered, *Netbo*, I promise you I'll commit no more such Folly: but as soon as they got *Aquavite* [*i. e.*, brandy], or other strong Liquors, which they trucked with the French, English, and Hollanders, for their Furs, they began afresh to be drunk.

When I asked them if they believed in the Great Master of Life, of Heaven and Earth; they answered, Yes. Notwithstanding, the Savage Women which some Missioners had baptized, and who were married in the face of the Church with some French Men of *Canada*, often left their Husbands, and took others, saying, they were not subject to the Laws of the Christians, and that they did not marry but with a

design to stay with their Husbands as long as they agreed together: but if they did not agree well, they were at liberty to change.

It's necessary to civilize this Nation before they be made to embrace the Christian Faith. If they be not under the Yoak, it's in vain to labour their Conversion, unless God by a particular Grace should do some Miracle in favour of this People. This is all I can say upon this Subject, founded upon the Experience I as well as many other *Recolets* have had of them.

[134] CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country of the Savages: That powerful Colonies may easily be planted on the North and the South.

BFORE I enter into the Particulars of these charming Countries which are in the North and the South of the Northern *America*, I'll speak two words of the Countries of the North, to the end one may see that it's easy to establish there powerful Colonies.

We must confess that there are vast Forests to be rid up, which reach from *Canada* to the Country of *Louisiana*, all along the River of *Meschaspi*; so that it would require a great deal of time to clear the Ground. But this is incident to all new Establishments.

Considerable Advantages were formerly made, and are so still, from the Fishery, of which they dried one part, because they sold them in the hot Countries; in which Traffick were employed in the past Age a thousand or twelve hundred Vessels. The great Bank of *Newfoundland*, the adjacent Banks, the neighbouring Isles, *Cape Breton*, the broken Island,¹ and *Acadia*, have the most Fish in the World. I do

¹ Probably he means Isle Percée ("the pierced island"), a small island on the east coast of Gaspé; it has even now the most extensive cod-fishery in Quebec province.—ED.

not speak here of the Fishery of the North, which *France* pretends a Right to, under the Title of the first Possessors. These Fisheries would be inexhaustible Mines for the Kingdom, which could not be taken from it, if they were supported by good Colonies. A great many Vessels might go every Year to fish for the Porpoise, the Whale, and the Sea-wolf [*i. e.*, Seal], which would furnish us with an infinite quantity of Oil for [135] our Domestick Manufactures, of which a part might be transported into Foreign Countries.

It's granted that the Traffick of Fishing which is upon these Coasts of *Canada*, gave birth to the first Establishments which were made in those Parts of *America*. There has not been time enough, nor Means to search the Country for Mines; without doubt there are Mines of Tin, Lead, Copper and Iron in many places, which are left for the Discovery of future Ages. The Country, by reason of the vast Forests, will furnish all sorts of Wood necessary to compleat the Mines. In many places is found a sort of bastard Marble, and great Bands of Coal fit for the Forges; there is also a sort of Plaister which much resembles Alabafter.

The further one advances into the Country, the more beautiful Forests are found, full of gummy Trees, fit to make Pitch for Ships, as also infinite store of Trees fit for Masts, of Pines, Firs, Cedars, Maples, fit for all sorts of Work, especially for the building of Ships: Great Men of War might be built there, Mariners might always find employ enough, and get sufficient to maintain their Families; they would become abler Sea-men by this Navigation and Com-

merce of the West, than of the *Levant*, and their Experience would be greater.

At the first beginning of the Establishment of the Colony in *Canada*, the Community gain'd every Year a hundred thousand Crowns, besides the Gains of private Persons. In the Year 1687, this Sum was tripled and above, by the Furs which were sent to *France*: And tho the Merchants are forc'd to advance further into the Country than at first, it's notwithstanding an inexhaustible Commerce, as we have observed, by the great Discoveries we have made.

It must be granted, that there are no Nations in *Europe* that have such an Inclination for Colonies as [136] the *English* and the *Hollanders*: The Genius of those People will not permit them to be idle at home. So the vast Countries of *America* which I have described, may be made the Soul of their Commerce. Private Persons who shall undertake it, without interesting their own Country, may bring it to a happy issue: They may easily contract Alliances with the Savages, and civilize them. The Colonies which they shall establish there will quickly be well peopled, and they may fortify themselves there at a very small Expence: They may content themselves at first with a moderate Gain, but in a short time it will be extremely considerable.

There are in *England* and *Holland* a great many sorts of Merchandizes and Manufactures of all sorts, which cannot be consumed upon the place, but in time here might be had a prodigious utterance of them. And from hence one may better learn to understand, than hitherto we have done, the

admirable Providence of God, whose Will and Pleasure it was that every Country in the World should not be equally furnished with all things, to the end Society and Commerce between different Nations might be established, and the glad Tidings of the Gospel be divulged to the ends of the World.

It is something great and glorious to gain Battles, and subdue rebellious Subjects; but it's infinitely more glorious to gain Souls to Christ: And I must needs say, that the principal aim I propose in publishing this great Discovery, is to animate Christians to extend the Dominions of our Saviour, and to aggrandize his Empire.

It's certain, to return to our Discourse of Trade and Commerce, that the Trade of Furs in the North is of infinite Profit and Advantage. There are to be had Skins of Elks or *Orignaux*,¹ as they are called in *Canada*, of Bears, Bevers, of the white Wolf or [137] Lynx, of black Foxes, which are wonderfully beautiful, which were sometimes valued at five or six hundred Franks; of common Foxes, Otters, Martens, wild Cats, wild Goats, Harts, Porcupines; of Turkeys, which are of an extraordinary bigness, Bustards, and an infinity of other Animals, whose Names I know not.

There may be catch'd, as I said before, Sturgeons, Salmons, Piques [Pikes], Carps, large Breams, Eels, Sword-fish, Gilt-heads, Barbels of an extraordinary bigness, and other

¹ *Orignal* is a name (of Basque origin) given in Canada to the moose (often called also "Canadian elk").—ED.

forts of Fish without number. There is infinite Gain for the Fowlers: There is an infinity of Sea-Larks, which are a lump of Fat: There are Partridges, Ducks of all forts, Huars, a kind of Dottrel, which imitates Mens Voices, which have an admirable diversity of beautiful Colours, Turtles, Ring-doves, Cranes, Herons, Swans, Bustards, which have a relish of all forts of Meat when you eat them, and a great abundance of all such like Game.

The great River of *St. Laurence*, which I have often mentioned, runs through the middle of the Country of the *Iroques*, and makes a great Lake there which they call *Ontario*, viz. the beautiful Lake; it's near 100 Leagues long, and a vast number of Towns might be built upon it. These places having Correspondence with *New York*, judicious Persons will easily see of what vast Profit the Trade will be; and here it's to be observed, that the middle of this River is nearer *New York* than *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

The River of *St. Laurence* on the South¹ has a Branch which comes from a Nation which is called *Nez*, or the *Outaouacts*; on the North are the *Algonquins*, where the *French* have taken possession: Towards the East dwells the Nation of *Wolves* [Mohicans] near *New Holland* or *York*: On the South of the same River is situated *New England* or *Boston*, where are many [138] trading Ships: On the South-west is

¹ This should be "North"; the reference is evidently to the Ottawa River, and the tribe of the same name. By "Nez," Hennepin apparently means the Amikoués, or Beaver tribe — known to the French as *Nez Percés* ("Pierced Noses"); they were located on the north side of Georgian Bay.— ED.

Virginia, which together with *New Holland* was formerly called *New Sweedland*¹: On the East [*sc.* West] is the Country of the *Hurons*, so called, because they burn their Hair, and leave but a little Tuft upon their Head, which stares like a wild Boar's Bristles. This Nation has been almost destroy'd by the *Iroques*, who have incorporated the Remainder among themselves. I have added many other Countries towards the North of the River of *St. Laurence* in the general and particular Map, which I have published in the first Volume of our Discovery.

The great Bay called *Hudson's*, is on the North of this River; it was discovered by the *Sieur Desgroseliers Rochebouart*,² with whom I was often in a Canoo during my stay in *Canada*. The *English* have given him a Pension; and Mr. *Blatbwait*, first Secretary of War to *William* the Third King of *England*, told me the last Year, that *Sieur Desgroseliers* was then living in *England*.

This *Hudson's*-Bay is situated on the North of *New France*, and of the River of *St. Laurence*; it has above four hundred

¹ Referring to the colony planted in 1638 by the Swedes, at the site of the present Wilmington, Del.—ED.

² Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, came from France to Canada about 1641. His name is inseparably linked with that of Pierre Esprit Radisson, his brother-in-law, in the history of exploration in northern North America. During 1654–56 and 1659–60 they traveled through the region of Lakes Michigan and Superior; and the period of 1668–83 was mainly devoted by them to exploration and traffic around Hudson Bay; during a large part of this time they were in the English service, and one result of their discoveries was the formation in England of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670. Groseilliers went back to England in 1683, where, so far as is known, he spent the rest of his life.—ED.

Leagues Extent, and by Land it is not far from *Quebec*, as it may be observed in my Charts: Notwithstanding we count it eight hundred Leagues from *Quebec* by the River to the Sea. And the Navigation it self has something of difficulty, because of the continual Fogs.

While I was at *Quebec*, the *Canadins* told me that *Sieur Desgroseliers* assured them he had great trouble to get thither by reason of the Ice, which was seven or eight foot thick, which was driven from the Northward with whole Trees, and the Earth it self together. Birds were seen which had there built their Nests, so that they looked like so many little Islands. I do not affirm that it's altogether just as I say: But the said *Sieur Desgroseliers* and others [139] have assured me, that they have passed through Ice for two Leagues together, and that it's prodigiously thick, one piece upon another, driven by the Winds higher than the Towers of great Cities. So that we are not to admire¹ what Sea-men tell us, that upon those great Banks of Ice they have placed their Forges, and made Anchors.

The *English* have in *Hudson's-Bay* the Forts of *Nelson* and *Neufavane*. The Court of *France* ordered heretofore the Traders in *Canada* to drive the *English* hence; but they had notice of it, and prevented the *Canadins*, by sending four great Ships to their assistance.

In the Countries to the North of the River of *St. Laurence* are found Mines of Iron and Steel, which would yield 40 or

¹ The word is here used in the literal sense of its etymology, "wonder at."—ED.

50 *per Cent.* There are Lead-Mines which would yield about 30 *per Cent.* and Copper which would yield 18: And according to all appearance there might be found Mines of Silver and Gold. Miners were sent thither while I was there: but the *French* are too quick in their Enterprizes; they would be rich too soon, and threw them up, because they did not presently find what they sought for.

Messieurs Genins, the Father and the Son, who were sent thither to see the Work go on, then told me, That since the Company did not perform their Contract, they had taken a Resolution to return home to *Paris*. That if the *French* who were in *Canada* had had as much Patience as other Nations, as Mr. *Genin* sen. told me at that time, they had without doubt gain'd their Point.

In short, all the Countries upon the River of *St. Laurence* produce all sorts of Herbage and Seeds. There are all sorts of Materials, as Oak, and all other sorts of Wood fit for building of Ships; and the prodigious quantity of Firs furnish Pitch in abundance. [140] Above all this, the Firs of which we have spoke, and Ashes fit to make Potashes of, which may yield more than a hundred and fifty thousand Livers a Year, and which alone are sufficient to subsist a great number of poor People; all these things, I say, are capable of producing a considerable Profit for the subsistence of the Colonies which may be established there.

That which is most remarkable is, that those who are Masters of those Countries may keep in awe above a thousand Vessels which go every Year to fish, and who bring back

Whale-Oil, and a great quantity of Salmon, and Poor-Jack,¹ enough to furnish whole Kingdoms. All those Ships must of necessity come to the *Pierced Island*,² where our *Recolets* have a little Mission House near the Fishers Huts, because there is no other convenience in those Countries. There is no Forts at the entrance of the River, at least I saw none. An Establishment in this place without doubt would gain the Trade, and make it very advantagious in case a good Colony were settled there, which were very easy.

In the Description which we have published of *Louisiana*, and the Countries of the South, which may truly be called the Paradise of *America*, we have made mention of all the Animals, of which we have spoke here above; but besides them, there are a great quantity of Bulls and wild Cows, which have a frised Wool; they may be tamed and made fit for labour: besides they would serve for Food, and might be shorn every Year like Sheep, and as good Cloth made of them as any in *Europe*. The Savages that dwell in those Countries were never able to destroy these Beasts, because they change their Country according to the seasons.

There are many Medicinal Herbs which are not in *Europe*, whose Effects are infallible, according to [141] the Experience of the Savages: They cure with them all sorts of Wounds, the Tertian and Quartan Agues; some of them purge well, and allay the Pains in the Reins, and such like Maladies.

¹ A popular term for the hake (*Merluccius vulgaris*), a sea-fish of the cod family, but coarser and poorer: it was formerly proverbial as a cheap sort of food.— ED.

² Isle Percée; see page 555, note 1, ante.— ED.

There are likewise great quantities of Poisons, as the Rind of the wild Gourd, and others which they make use of to destroy their Enemies. Serpents are common in some Parts, particularly Adders, Aspicks, and Rattle-snakes; they are of a prodigious length and bigness, and bite dangerously poor Passengers: But they have Sovereign Remedies against their biting. There are in these Countries Frogs of a stupendous bigness, their croaking is as loud as the lowing of Cows.

There are here all sorts of European Trees, and many of different species from ours, as I have already mentioned: Those are, for Example, the Cotton Tree,¹ and many others. These Trees take deep rooting, and become very tall, which shews the goodness of the Soil. But the greatest advantage that may be drawn from our Discovery between the frozen Sea and *New Mexico* consists in this, as I have said, that by the means of these Countries of the South, a Passage may be found to *Cbina* and *Japan*, without being obliged to pass the Equinoctial Line.

¹ *Platanus occidentalis*, or American sycamore.—ED.

[142] CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the Methods of the Savages in their Councils. Their crafty Policies against their Enemies, and their Cruelty against the Europeans; and how a stop may be put to them.

IT often happens that the Savages exercise great Cruelties against the Europeans, when they pretend to have been insulted. These Barbarians make Proclamation of War by three or four old Men in all their Villages: They do it with so loud a Voice, and so dreadful a Tone, that all that are in their Cabins, as well Men as Women, tremble for fear.

Presently all the antient Men, and all those who are to share in their Counsels, meet at one of their great Cabins, where the Chief of their Nation dwells: There one of their Chiefs speaks to them always in this manner; My Brethren, and my Nephews, one of such a Nation has killed one of our People. For tho they have but a small occasion of Discontent, they always give out they are killed: We must then, says the Chief, make War upon them, extirpate them, and revenge the Evil they have done. If all those that assist at the Council answer one after another, *Netbo*, or *Togenskè*; and if they smook in the *Calumet*, or Pipe of War, whilst a little Savage takes care from time to time to ram it with Tobacco; this is taken for an unanimous Consent of the Nation, and their

Allies. Then one may see from time to time Troops of Souldiers marching to surprize their Enemies, tho they be often very innocent, and 'tis wholly upon the false suggestion of some ill-minded Savage.

[143] One day the *Iroques* pretending an Injury done by a French-man of *Canada*, they would not attack the whole Nation, but contented themselves to discharge their Fury upon two of them, whom they killed with Hatchets; after they tied their Bodies to great Stones, and cast them into the River to conceal this black Action; and there had never been any thing known of it, if after some time the Ropes had not broke, and the River brought their Bodies to the Bank.

The Savages perceiving that they were suspected, because they were forbidden to come near the Fort and the Houses of the Inhabitants, began to fear lest the *Canadians* should revenge this barbarous Action: To prevent the Effects of it, they went up to the three Rivers, and held a Council of about eight hundred Men: The Result of their Assembly was, that they should endeavour to surprize and cut the Throats of all the People in *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*, at that time but poorly inhabited.

It's hard to keep Secrecy in a Council of so many Men at once, who without doubt were not all of one sentiment: Providence therefore, that watched for the Conservation of this little growing Colony, permitted that one of the Savages, called *Foriere*, whom some of our Order of *St. Francis* had instructed at the three Rivers two years together, who had a

great kindness for them, gave Advice to one of our Friars, called Friar *Pacificus*,¹ who presently gave notice to the Government. This obliged them to intrench themselves in a little wooden Fort, fortified with Stakes, and ill-ordered Palisadoes. This Savage was highly rewarded, and more was promised him, to oblige him not only to discover their further Designs, but also to endeavour to divert them from their Enterprize against the *Canadins*.

This Savage acquitted himself very well of his [144] Commission: He manag'd this Affair so happily, that he not only made them to quit their former Design, but fully perswaded them to reconcile themselves with the French, and to obtain Provisions, of which they stood much in need at that time. The Savages sent to this end forty Canoos with Women to fetch in Provisions. The *Canadins* furnished them with as much as the time would permit.

The French received with a great deal of Joy the Propositions of Peace, which were made them in full Council by the Savage *Foriere* on the part of the *Iroques*, whom he had appeased. They were told that the Chiefs and Captains of the Nation should give up the Murderers to the *Canadins* to dispose of them as they thought good: To this effect their Antients should have Orders to come to *Quebec* to treat on this Affair.

The Proposition which *Foriere* made to the Savages on this Subject, at first frightened them; but afterwards reflecting upon the Weakness, and the sweet Temper of the French in

¹ The Récollet brother Pacificus du Plessis; he died at Quebec in 1619.—ED.

Canada, and relying upon the Credit of Father *Joseph Caron* a *Recolet*,¹ whom they esteemed their Friend, they persuaded one of the two who was the less guilty, to go down with them to *Quebec*. In the mean time the *Iroques* ordered their little Army to make a halt half a League from the French Fort, to expect [*i. e.*, await] the Success of the Negotiation.

The *Iroques* presented their Criminals to the *Canadins*, with a quantity of Bever Robes, which they gave to wipe away their Tears, according to their Custom. In effect they made up the Business by their Presents: It's thus they commonly appease the Anger of those they have provoked, and engage their Allies, make Peace, deliver Prisoners, and as I may say, raise the Dead: In short, there's neither Proposal nor Answer, but by Presents, [145] which serve instead of Words in their Harangues.

The Presents which the Savages make for a Man who has been murdered, are many; but commonly it's not he that committed the Murder that offers them; but the Custom is that it be done by his Parents, Township, or sometimes by the whole Nation, according to the Quality of him who was killed. If the Murderer be met with by the Parents of the Defunct, before he has made satisfaction, he's put to Death immediately. According to this Custom, before *Foriere*, the Antients and Captains of the Savages began to speak, who made a Present of twelve Elk Skins to sweeten the *Canadins*.

¹ Joseph le Caron was one of the first party of Récollet missionaries sent to Canada (1615), and was superior of the mission from 1617 to 1629, when the English sent all its workers back to France. Le Caron died in 1632.—ED.

After they had treated, they made a second Present, and laid it at the Feet of the *Canadins*, saying, It was to cleanse the bloody Part of the Place where the Murder was committed, protesting they had no knowledg of this Affair till it was done; and that all the Chiefs of the Nation had condemned the Attempt. The third was to strengthen the Arms of those who had found the Bodies on the Bank of the River, and who had carried them into the Woods: They gave them also two Robes of Bever, to repose upon, and refresh themselves after the Labour they had suffered in burying them. The fourth was to wash and cleanse those who were polluted with the Murder, and to obtain the Spirit again which they had lost, when they gave the unfortunate Stroke. The fifth to efface all the Repentments the *Canadins* might have. The sixth was to make an inviolable Peace with the French; adding, that for the future they would cast away their Hatchets, so far that they should never be found; which was as much as to say, that their Nation being in perfect Peace with the Europeans, they would have no use of any Arms, only for Hunting. The seventh was to evidence the Desire they had that the *Canadins* would have their [146] Ears pierced; which is to say in their Language, that they would be open to the Sweetness of Peace, to pardon the two Murderers the Fault they had committed.

They offered a Quantity of Chains of Sea-Purple-Shells, to light a Fire of Counsel (as they phrased it) at the three Rivers, where the *Iroques* then were, and another at *Quebec*. They added another Present of two thousand Grains of black

and blue Purple, to serve in Wood and Fewel for these two Fires.

Here the Reader is to observe, that the Savages seldom have any Assemblies, but they have their Pipe in their Mouth; Fire being necessary to light their Pipes, they always have it ready in their Consults: so that it's the same thing among them to light a Fire of Counsel, as to assemble to consult. The eighth Present was to desire a Union of their Nation with the *Canadins*; and then they offered a great Chain of Sea Purple, with ten Robes of Bever and Elk; to confirm all they had said.

Whatsoever purpose was made at *Quebec* to punish the Murderers, to prevent the like Mischiefs for the future, they were obliged to desist from it, and pardon the Murderers; because they were not in a condition to resist such a powerful Enemy: so all was concluded, and two Hostages were demanded of the Savages for the performance of their Promises. They put into Father *Joseph's* Hands two young *Iroques* Boys, called *Nigamon* and *Tebachi*, to be instructed. In conclusion, the guilty Persons were sent back notwithstanding, upon condition that at the arrival of the Ships which were expected from *Europe*, this Affair should have its final Decision.¹

I remember when I was in *Canada*, I heard the French often murmur that this Affair was managed thus, and that the Murderers should avoid the Stroke of Justice. After

¹ This is only another version of the account given by Le Clercq in *Établissement de la Foy*; see Shea's translation, i, pp. 121-127.—ED.

this the *Iroques* committed a great [147] many such like Enormities, saying they should be quit for a few Skins of wild Beasts, instead of those of the *Canadins*, whom they would flea off alive; and that those of their Nation would not suffer such like Actions without a futable Revenge, tho the whole Nation of the *Iroques* should perish to a Man.

In effect these Barbarians grew every day more insolent upon it, and despised the *Canadins*, as People of no Courage; so that whatsoever Face they put upon the Matter in their Treaty, it was only done out of Policy to advantage themselves by their Commerce of Furs for the Merchandises of *Europe*.

We see at this day, that the War which the *Iroques* have at present with the French in *Canada*, furnishes us with continual Examples of their Cruelty. The Europeans ought to take away their Fire-Arms, to reduce them, and to make them reside in one Place, and to live after the mode of *Europe*: This would be the means to convert them to Christianity. The Spaniards took this Method with the Mexicans, who dare not carry Fire-Arms, it being punished with Death; nevertheless they are not the worse used, and the Mexicans are as good Catholicks as any in the World and carry the easiest Yoak of any Subjects in the Universe.

Our first Recollets in the first Colony of *Canada*, saw a necessity of overthrowing the Council of the *Iroques*, which are the most redoubted Enemies of the *Europeans*: They observed that all the Peaces which these Savages made, were only Feints to cover the Breaches of former Treaties. Our

Fathers often represented this to the Court of *France*, that to convert these Barbarians, and to hinder them from taking Measures prejudicial to the Colony of *Canada*, it was necessary to found a Seminary of fifty or sixty young *Iroques* for seven or eight years only; after [148] which they might be maintained of the Revenue of the Ground, which might be cultivated during that time. That those Children offered themselves every day to our Religious by consent of their Parents, to be instructed and brought up in the Christian Religion. That the *Iroques* and other Savages, seeing their Children educated in this manner, would form no more Enterprizes against the Colony, as long as their Children were in the Seminary, as Guarantees of the Fidelity of their Parents.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the proper Methods to establish good Colonies. The Thoughts and Opinions of the Savages touching Heaven and Earth.

THE Religious of our Order of St. *Francis* can possess nothing in Property, neither can they according to their Institute, buy or possess any Revenues. There is no Order so fit as ours to support the Colonies that are established by the Catholics in *America*: The Truth of what I say is seen by those which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth sent into new *Mexico*; where are to be seen this day an Infinity of great Families, that have made great Advantages of the Disinterestedness of our Religious; the best Lands have not been swallowed up, as we see in *Canada*, where we see the richest and most fertile Places in the hands of some Communities, who have laid hold of them during the absence of the Recollects; who notwithstanding are the first Missioners of *Canada*, having near fourscore Years ago attempted the planting of the Gospel there.

The People of *New France* having earnestly desired our Return, after a long forced absence, we [149] found that the best Lands of our Establishment of the Convent of our Lady

of Angels,¹ were seized upon; where I have often renewed and marked the Bounds which remained, to prevent the Designs of those who would seize upon the Remainder: But my Design is not to tax or offend any body; tho I publish those things that may displease some, I shall speak nothing but Truth.

I shall not speak here of the great Advantages which have accrued to the four Parts of the World by the Missions of our Recollets, it would require large Volumes; I shall only relate here the Labours of our Religious in this Age, and the great Discoveries made by us in *America*. When the French Colony of *Canada* was established, our Recollets asked nothing of the Government, but a dozen Men fit for Husbandry-Affairs; which were to be commanded by a secular Master of a Family, for the Subsistence of fifty or sixty young Savage Children, whilst our Religious extended themselves on all sides in the Mission to draw others to Christianity. These Religious expose their Lives, and subject themselves to all sorts of Trouble and Fatigue, in order to plant the Gospel all over the World.

Our Religious long ago advised that Christian Religion, and the Authority of Justice, should be supported by a good Garison, established in some convenient Place in the *Northern*

¹The convent of Notre-Dame des Anges was built by the Récollets on the St. Charles River, about half a (French) league from the fort of Quebec. After the return of the French to Canada (1632), the house and lands of the Récollets were used by the Jesuits, as the former order was not then allowed to resume its Canadian missions. Permission was finally granted, however, in 1679; and the Récollet missionaries then sent over again occupied their former possessions. A few years later, Count Frontenac, who was their firm friend, built for them a house at his own expense.—ED.

America, which might keep in subjection more than eight hundred Leagues of Country all along the River of St. *Lawrence*: There is no way to approach thither, but by the Mouth of this great River. This would be the true means to make Trade flourish: The Power of the Prince would be augmented, and his Dominions far extended by the Possession of this great River.

There might be joined to this many great Countries which might be seized upon in this vast Continent [150] upon the River *Meschafipi*, which is far more convenient than the River of St. *Lawrence* to establish Colonies in: for here may be had two Harvests a year, and in some places three, besides a great many other advantages. To which may be added, that by this means a great many Countries would become tributary, and might be joined to these new Colonies. To this I would heartily contribute, being ready to sacrifice the remainder of my Days to such a good work.

First, To bring to a happy conclusion so noble an Enterprize, it's necessary that the Princes or States, which would make use of our Discoveries, should very exactly administer Justice. The beginnings of all Colonies are difficult. It's necessary therefore to prevent Thefts, Murders, Debaucheries, Blasphemies, and all other sorts of Crimes, which are too common with the Europeans that inhabit *America*.

Secondly, A Fort ought to be built at the mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*, and above all at the mouth of *Meschafipi*, which are the only places where Ships can come. Then the Inhabitants might extend themselves, and clear the

Ground twenty, or twenty five Leagues round about. They might have several Harvests in the Year, and might employ themselves in taming wild Bulls, which might be made use of several ways: besides, advantage must be drawn from Mines and Sugar-Canes, which are here far more frequent than in the Isles of *America*, the Ground being richer and fitter for Canes; among which may be sown great quantities of several sorts of Grain, which never come to maturity in those Islands. The Climate of the Countries which are betwixt the frozen Sea and the Gulph of *Mexico*, is far more temperate along the River *Mesbasipi* than in the Isles above mention'd. The Air is of the same Temperature as in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Provence*. The Men and Women go always [151] with their Heads bare, and are taller than the Europeans.

As to the Sentiments these Barbarians have of Heaven and Earth; when they are asked, Who is he that made them? some of their more antient and abler Men answer, That as to the Heavens they know not who made them. If you have been there, say they, you must know something of the matter: it's a foolish Question, say they, to ask what we think of a place so high above our Heads; how would you have us to speak of a place that never none saw?

But, say they, can you shew by the Scripture of which you speak, a Man that ever came from thence, and the manner how he mounted up thither? When we answer, that our Souls being unfettered from the Body, are of infinite agility, and that in the twinkling of an Eye they mount up thither to receive the recompence of their Works from the hand of

the Master of Life; these People, who have a great indifference for whatsoever is said to them, and are cunning enough in seeming to approve in outward appearance, whatsoever is thought convenient to propose to them; being harder pressed, they answer, It's well for those of your Country; but we Americans do not go to Heaven after Death: We only go to the Country of Souls, whither our People go to hunt fat Beasts, where they live in greater Tranquillity than here. All that you say is good for those that dwell beyond the great Lake; for so they call the Sea. They further say, that as to themselves they are made in another manner than the People of *Europe*: So that their Conversion does solely depend upon the good will and pleasure of God, who must water our planting.

As to the Sentiments of the Savages relating to the Earth, they make use of a certain Genius which they call *Micaboche*,¹ who covered all the Earth with Water, [152] which seems to retain some Tradition of the Deluge. These Savages believe that there are between Heaven and Earth, certain Spirits in the Air, which have power to predict future things; and others that are excellent Physicians, for the cure of all sorts of Maladies. This makes them very superstitious, and to consult the Oracles with great exactness.

One of these Master-Juglers, who passed for a Wizard and Conjuror among them, made a Cabin be erected with ten great Stakes well fix'd in the Ground. He made a dreadful

¹ A poor phonetization of Missibizi, or Manabozho, the name of an Algonkin divinity (see p. 451, note 1, ante).—ED.

Noise about consulting the Spirits, to know if there would quickly fall abundance of Snow, for the better hunting of Elks and Bevers. This famous Jugler cried out all on a sudden, that he saw great store of Elks which were at a distance, but that they were coming within seven or eight Leagues of their Cabins. This made these poor People rejoice exceedingly.

It's to be observ'd that when the Jugler, or pretended Prophet, misses the mark, they have no less esteem for him; it's sufficient that he hath guessed right three or four times, to gain him a lasting Reputation. I told them that the great Master of Heaven, who governs all things, ought only to be address'd in our Petitions and Necessities. They answered me that they knew him not, and that they would be glad to know whether he could send them Elks and Bevers; so blind are these People. I told them once that we Europeans knew how all things were made, and by whom. They told me that if I would go and live with them, they would send their Children to be instructed. These Sentiments of the Savages let us see, that the greatest good that can be done among them, is to baptize their dying Infants.

The Missions of the Northern *America* are far different from others. There is nothing to be found agreeable to Nature, nothing but what contradicts the [153] inclination of the Senses: One must submit to infinite Fatigues, and barren and ingrateful Labour. Notwithstanding those who apply themselves with zeal, confess they find a secret Charm

which inclines them to this work; so that if any Necessity diverts them from it, they are much perplexed.

This seems to me to be a good Prefage for the Missions of these Countries, and that God Almighty will not suffer them always to remain in the Shadows of Death; since by his Grace he makes the Missioners find so much pleasure in those Labours, so contrary to Flesh and Blood.

Patience is absolutely necessary for this Employ. All along our Travels in *America* we din'd upon the Ground, or upon some Mat of Bulrushes when we were in the Cabins of some Savage. A Fagot of Cedar was our Pillow in the Night; our Cloaks our Coverlets; our Knees our Table; some Bushes tied together, our Seats; the Leaves of Indian Corn, our Napkins. We had some Knives, but they were of no use to us for want of Bread to cut. Except in the time of the great Hunting, and certain Seasons of the Year, Flesh-meat was so scarce that we were oft six Weeks, or two Months, without eating any, unless it were a morsel of a wild Dog, or some piece of a Bear, or Fox, which the Savages gave us at their Feasts.

Our common Food was the same with the Savages, *viz.* *Sagamite*, or Pottage made of Water and Indian Corn with Gourds: To give it a Relish, we put into it Marjoram, and a sort of Balm, with wild Onions which we found in the Woods and Fields. Our ordinary Drink was Water. If any of us was indisposed, while the Sap was up in the Trees, we made a hole in the Bark of a Maple, and there dropt out a

sweet Sugar-like Juice, which we saved in a Platter made of the Bark of a Birch-tree; we drank it as a Sovereign [154] Remedy, tho it had but small effects. There are in the Vallies of those Forests great store of Maples, from whence may be drawn distill'd Waters. After a long boiling, we made of it a kind of reddish Sugar, much better than that which is drawn from the ordinary Canes in the Isles of *America*.

Our Spanish Wine failing us, we made more of wild Grapes which were very good; we put it into a little Barrel, in which our Wine was kept that we brought with us, and some Bottles. A Wooden-Mortar and an Altar-Towel was our Press. The Fat [Vat] was a Bucket of Bark. Our Candle was Chips of the Bark of Birch-tree, which lasted a small while. We were forced to read and write by the light of the Fire in Winter, which was very inconvenient.

While we were at the Fort of *Frontenac*, about sixscore Leagues from *Quebec* towards the South, we made up a little Garden, and paled it in to keep out the Savage Children: Peas, Herbs, and whatsoever Pulse we sowed there, grew extremely well. We had had great store, if we had had proper Tools to work with at the beginning of the establishment of that Fort, which was but then fortified with great Stakes: We made use of sharp-pointed Sticks, because we had no other Husbandry-Tools. All our Consolation was, in the midst of these Fatigues, to see the Gospel of Christ advanced.

The Savages seem'd to have some Inclination; they were attentive and diligent in coming to their Prayers, tho they

had none of that openness of Spirit which is necessary to enter into the Verities of Religion. They came to seek Instruction with a Spirit of Interest, to have our Knives, Awls, and such like things.

I owe the following Thoughts to an excellent Religious Man of our Order, whom I shall name in my third Volume, if it please God I perfect my Design.

[155] I make a great deal of difference between the Zeal, the Labours of true Missioners, and the pretended Successes which have been so often bragg'd of, without any probability of Truth. The Justice we are obliged to pay to the painful Fatigues of Apostolical Men in *New-France*, is that they cannot be expressed: They equal the Enterprizes, Courage, and Sufferings of St. *Paul*, who was exposed to great Dangers, to Famine, Thirst, &c. Their Silence it self was great and laudable among the Calumnies of their Enemies. But the Conduct of the Missioners in the Christian World is justified by it self, and puts them above such-like Reproaches, as well in regard of *Canada*, as any place else.

Formerly it employed all my Thoughts, as well as those of other Missioners among the *Iroquois*, to civilize these Savages, to make them capable of Laws and Civil Policy, and to put a stop to their brutal Sallies as much as possible. I have done my utmost to disabuse them, and shew them the folly of their vain Superstitions; and so I prepared the way of our Lord to the utmost of my power. But it must be confessed the Harvest was little; those People are as Savage as ever, always fixed to their antient Maxims, to their profane

Customs, to Pride, Drunkenness, Cruelty, being even incapable of Instruction and Obedience. They are the same they were thirty or forty years ago. Since the French of *Canada* made a Peace with them, and that the Jesuits became their Missioners, altho they had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had destroyed, these *Iroquois*, who may justly be called the unconquerable *Philibines*, have made no progress in Faith: To speak truth, we see the quite contrary at this day. These Barbarians maintain a cruel War with the French. I must confess it's hard for me to conceive that Christians should have a War with such brutal People, [156] whom I had managed with all the dexterity I could, during the six or seven Years I was among them; sometimes by Embassies, which I was charged with; sometimes by the Instructions I gave them for Reading and Writing, and for Religion it self. We continued this warlike Nation in Peace as much as possible.

The *Iroquois*, who call the Religious of our Order *Cbitagon*, that is to say, *naked Feet*, have often regretted our Absence about the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, where they had a Mission-house. I have often heard say, that when a Priest of St. *Sulpitius*, a Jesuit, or any other Ecclesiastick of *Canada*, asked them how it happen'd that they gave them no share of their Game, as they were wont to give the *naked Feet*? They answered, that our *Recolets* liv'd in common as they did, and that they took no Recompence of all the Presents that they made them: That they neither took Furs, of which all the Europeans are so greedy, nor any other

Recompence, for all that our Religious did for them. This shews, that one must begin by the Animal part with those People, and after proceed to the Spiritual. And that if, as in the Primitive Church, the Christians of this Age were of one Heart, and one Soul, and wholly disinterested, without doubt this Nation would be easier converted.

It's true, that while I was a Missioner at *Fort Frontenac*, among the *Iroquois*, and that the Jesuits were scattered here and there in their Country, these Religious served to other purposes than my self: For as those Barbarians are wholly led by Sense, they then looked upon the Jesuit Missioners as Captains, and Men of considerable Quality, as Envoys, and perpetual Residents of the French Colony of *Canada*, who maintained the Alliance which was among them, who disposed of Peace and War, who served for Hostages when they went to trade in the inhabited [157] parts of *Canada*; otherwise these Barbarians would have had perpetual Diffidences, and would have been afraid of being detained for want of Hostages, and of this Security for their Lives and Goods.

It's observed, that the Missioners of whom I speak, undertake the Tutelage of the Savages, of which they acquit themselves very well. They draw these Barbarians into their Residences, and exercise them in clearing the Ground of their Settlements, which contributes much to the Advantage of the Colony, and the Church it self. To their Reputation and Zeal must be attributed many considerable Foundations for this Mission, which they have obtained from many powerful and zealous Persons, whose Liberality they manage as well as

the annual Gratifications of the King for the same purpose.¹

Besides, these Missions are the places where true Saints are formed, by the Labours of an indefatigable Zeal, a fervent Charity, accompanied with Patience and Humility, and by a great Disinterestedness; by an extraordinary Sweetness, and by a lively and pure Faith: but it's a kind of an Apostleship different from that of other Nations.

But to speak here one word of the Progress of these Missions. Is it possible that this pretended prodigious number of converted Savages should escape the Knowledge of a croud of French Canadins, who go abroad every Year from home at least three or four hundred Leagues, to the utmost Borders of the discovered Countries, to trade, where some of them sojourn whole Years for to barter their Commodities? How happen'd it that these devout Churches disappeared when I travelled through the middle of the Countries? How comes it to pass, that so many Men of Sense should not discern them?

Besides, it's well known that the Savages come every Year in great Troops into *Canada* with their [158] Canoos loaden with Furs. There is to be seen a Concourse of all sorts of

¹The Jesuit missions in Canada were granted, from the year 1647, an annual pension of 5,000 livres; from 1684, they were exempted from payment of tithes; an instructor was long maintained by the King at the college of Quebec; and other gifts and allowances were, at various times, granted them by the government. Besides these, they possessed large and valuable landed estates, given by the King or by private persons. When Canada was conquered by the English (1760), the property of the Jesuits was appropriated by the English government, which held it for more than a century; finally (1871), ceding the Jesuit estates to the Provincial government of Quebec. For further details, and citations of authorities, see *Jes. Relations*, lxxi, pp. 392, 393.—ED.

Savages, who are as it were the select People of all those different Nations. All the Country are Witnessees, that in their Manners and Doings nothing appears but Barbarity, without any sign or mark of Religion. All the Proof they can give, is, that like Idols they assist at our Mysteries and Instructions: for the rest we may see them indifferent, without discovering any Faith or Spirit of Religion. It may be called rather an effect of their Curiosity: Some of them come upon the account of Interest, others upon a Motive of Fear, or some particular Esteem they have for the Person of some Missioner, whom they often regard as a considerable Chief.

All therefore that can be done, is to draw out of the Woods some Families which shew the most Docility, and to dispose them to settle in some inhabited Place. There are two Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec*, and two other higher up upon the River of St. *Lawrence*, near *Mont-royal*, which are separated from the Commerce of the Europeans. It's therefore in those Parts that the Church of the Savages is to be found. Tho their Language as well as Manners are altogether savage, yet for all that those *Neophytes* are kept in their Devoir. Great pains is taken to educate them in Piety, yet not much is gain'd upon their Spirit. There are some that are Christians in good earnest; but there are many entire Families who escape from the Missioners after having abode with them ten or twelve Years, and return to the Woods to their first mode of living.

It may be reply'd by some, that we see many Christians in *Europe* swerve from their Duty, and disgrace their Char-

after by a Libertine Conduct; but we do not discourse here of the Corruption of the Manners of the Savages, but of their adhesion to Christianity: It's certain they quite apostatize from it.

[159] The contrary has been declar'd in *France*, in several Relations, which have been publish'd upon this Subject, which were order'd to be read to the Pensionaries of the *Urfulines*. It's said, that there are a great many Indians converted, and others ready for the Sacrament of Confirmation, and that some of them have received the lesser Orders. Would to God that all those Churches spoke of in the Relations were as real, as all the judicious People of *Canada* know they are chimerical. If they were formerly, what's become of them now? after almost an Age they are no more to be seen; and yet the Colony of *Canada* increases. The Trade is greater than formerly, and it's better known, so that the pretended number of Converts would be easily discovered.

When formerly these Relations were read to Persons who had not that knowledg of *Canada* we have at present, it gained Credit with every body according to their Inclinations. It was easy to impose upon People in this respect. But as to me who have been upon the Place, and who have always spoke my mind with a great deal of Candor and Liberty, I content my self to appeal to all the Inhabitants of *New France*, who are at present fifteen or sixteen thousand Souls¹; I am assured they will confess ingenuously, there is

¹The population of Canada is given by Sulte (*Canad.-Français*, v, p. 89; vi, 46-48) as follows: In 1681, 9,677; in 1691, 12,000; in 1698, about 16,000.—ED.

scarce any Christianity among the Savages at this day, except some particular Persons, and those in small numbers, very fickle and inconstant, ready at every moment for any small Interest to abandon their Religion.

It may be that some Advances are made towards the civilizing those Barbarians, and to make them more polite than they were. But all the Inhabitants of those Countries know, that they are no more Christians than formerly. Notwithstanding it's very probable that they would have adhered better to the Christian Religion, if they had trod in the steps [160] of the Religious of our Order, if they had kept a solid Peace with the *Iroquois* and other Savage Nations, and if they had been mingled among the Europeans, to make them more docible and more tractable.

While I was in the Mission of *Canada*, I bethought me one day to ask some judicious Men, how it happen'd that we had no more Annual Relations of the Missions of *Canada*. When those whom I had asked gave me no Answer, a certain Person who thought no ill, told me, that the Court of *Rome* had order'd that the Relations of foreign Missions should be exactly true: That the Congregation *De propaganda Fide* had order'd that no more should be published that were not of publick Notoriety, and clear as the Sun at Noon. This seem'd to me to be a judicious Answer.¹

¹ In the preceding four pages, Hennepin has attacked the missionary labors of the Jesuits in Canada, although without mentioning that order by name. The published reports here alluded to are the annual *Relations* sent by the Jesuit missionaries in Canada to their superiors in France or at Rome; these were regularly published from 1632 until 1672. From that time they ceased to appear, in consequence of an order

Reflecting upon this, we ought to admire the Judgments of God upon these barbarous Nations, and to acknowledge his Mercy toward us, that he has been pleased to let us be born of Parents illuminated with the bright Rays of the Christian Faith, in a Country where we are betimes formed to Piety, and all manner of Vertues; where the multitude of interiour Graces and exterior Helps present us the means to secure our Salvation, if we be faithful.

We ought to give him the Glory that is due to him for the excellent Lights we have received, and which distinguish us so advantageously from so many Nations who are in the Darknes of Error and Blindnes. This ought to oblige us to make our Election sure by all sorts of good Works, setting before our Eyes the account we must one day give before the dreadful Tribunal of God, of the use we have made of all his Graces and Benefits.

issued (Dec. 19, 1672) by the Congregation of the Propaganda, and enforced by a brief (Apr. 6, 1673) of Pope Clement X, forbidding the publication (without written permission from the Congregation) of any books about missions. See *Jes. Relations*, especially iv, pp. 315, 316.—ED.



The Taking of Quebec by The English

M. Vander Gucht Sculp.

[161] CHAP. XXXVI.

The History of the Irruption which the English made into Canada in the Year 1628. The taking of Quebec, the Metropolis of Canada, in the Year 1629. The most honourable Treatment they gave the Recolets.

I THOUGHT my self obliged to publish the Observations which I have drawn from the Reverend Father *Valentine le Roux*, Provincial Commissary of our *Recolets of Canada*, who is a Man of singular Merit. I have told you in my first Volume, that I communicated to him my Journal of the Discovery I made of all the River of *Meschasipi*. This Man, who has a deep and piercing Judgment, has published what he knows of the Intrigues of *Canada* under a borrowed Name¹; and he shews in his Work, that the Conduct of Providence is always admirable, and that she accomplishes her Designs by ways impenetrable, in their Beginning, in their Progress, and in their Perfection.

The Colony of *New France*, says this clear-sighted Religious, for a long time flourished more and more; great Discoveries were made, Trade advanced, the People encreased, Chappels and Oratories were built in many places, and the

¹ See the first sentence of the following chapter (xxxvii). Hennepin here gives a sort of paraphrase of chap. xii in Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*.—ED.

Country had a new face of Government: But God permitted all this to be ruined by the descent of the English, who pretend that their Sovereign is not only King of three Kingdoms, but also of the Sea.

Some English, zealous for their Nation, armed a Fleet in 1628,¹ to seize upon *Canada*, in the Reign of *Lewis XIII*, Father of the present King. Two Turtles,² [162] of which great Flights are in this Country, fell of themselves in a very calm time into the Fort of *Quebec* the 9th of *July* the same Year. The Inhabitants of *Canada* took it for a Prefage of the Change that happen'd.

The English in their *Route* seized upon a French Vessel which was at the Mouth of the River of *St. Francis*,³ in that part of the Isle which is called *Pierced*, because of a small Cape of Land which shoots out into the Sea, in the middle of which is a great Arch which is naturally pierced in the Rock, under which the *Cbaloups* that fish for *Poor Jack* pass

¹ Reference is here made to the London trading company called "Merchant Adventurers to Canada." Its founder, Sir William Alexander, had obtained from James I of England a grant of all the territory from the St. Croix River to the St. Lawrence, ignoring all French claims to that region. In 1627, Alexander settled a small colony in Nova Scotia; and in the following year David Kirk, another of the associates, seized all the French fishing vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, threatened Quebec, and captured a French squadron sent with supplies for that town. In 1629, he returned to the attack, captured Quebec, and took possession of Canada for England.—ED.

² The passenger pigeon (*Columba migratoria*); formerly abundant, but now practically extinct, in the United States. The word "Turtles" is, however, an absurd error of either Hennepin or his English translator; for this incident, as originally related by Sagard (*Canada*, Tross ed., pp. 831, 832, 887), was that of the sudden fall, without apparent cause, of two small towers (Fr. *tourelles*) of the fort.—ED.

³ The Mal Baie River, in Gaspé; Isle Percée is not far from its mouth.—ED.

when they return from Fishing. The English fail'd with a fair Wind, and advanced up the River as far as *Tadoussac*,¹ which is a River that falls into this, and comes from the Countries which are towards *Hudson's Bay*, as may be seen in the Maps.

The English found a Bark, which they made use of to land 20 Souldiers: These were sent to seize upon Cape *Tourment*, so called, because of the danger the Ships are in there during the Tempests, which are more frequent here than in any part of the River. Two Savages who lived among the Europeans having discovered them, gave advice to *Quebec*, which is but about seven or eight Leagues from the Cape.

Monfieur *Champlin*,² who was Governour of that City, entreated Father *Joseph Caron*, Superiour of the *Recolets*, to go near the English Fleet in a Canoo of Bark, to know the Truth. The Advice was but too true. He found it confirm'd about five Leagues from *Quebec*, and had no other time but presently to run a shoar, and save himself in the Woods. The two Religious we had at Cape *Tourment* came by Land to *Quebec*, with the Sieur *Faucher*, who was Commandant there, to give an account of the taking of Cape

¹ Tadoussac is the seaport village at the mouth of the Saguenay River, Que. This river rises in Lake St. John, into which fall rivers that connect, by portages, with the streams flowing into Hudson Bay.—ED.

² Samuel de Champlain, the great explorer of Canada and the New England coast. His *Voyages*—of which several editions were published during his life, and which has also been translated into English—is one of the prime authorities on early Canadian history and geography. He founded Quebec (1608), and was the first governor of the colony (1612 until his death, Dec. 25, 1635—except during the English occupation, 1629–32).—ED.

Tourment. The English there seized upon all the Effects valuable, and the Inhabitants fled into the [163] Woods. There were but three that fell into the hands of the English; one of whom was called *Piver*,¹ with his Wife and his Niece. Soon after they appeared before *Quebec*, accompanied with an Officer of Mr. *Kirk*, Admiral of the English Fleet.

This Officer summoned them by a Letter from the Admiral to surrender the Place: but the Governour, who was a gallant Man of his Person, tho much *embarass'd* with this Invasion, remaining firm and undaunted, made them so fierce an Answer, that the English, who will rather perish than desist from an Enterprize, believed by this Answer that the Fort of *Quebec* was in a better condition than they thought it was. So this time they let it alone, and putting off their Design to a more convenient time, they set sail for *England*.

The English General then putting off the Design to the Year following, contented himself with taking a great number of Prisoners, which he carried into *England*, and among the rest a young Savage *Huron*, called *Lewis of the Holy Faith*,² who had been baptized two Years before by the Archbishop of *Rouen*. The rest of the Prisoners, doubtless with a design to be the more valued, said, that that Savage was the Son of the King of *Canada*. The English General believed that so considerable a Prisoner would much facilitate the Conquest of the whole Country the Year following. But he was much surprized when after he had taken *Quebec*, he under-

¹ Nicolas Pivert, one of the first settlers at Beaupré, Que.—ED.

² Louis de Sainte-Foi, whose Huron name was Amantacha.—ED.

stood that the Father of this Savage was a poor miserable *Huron*, who had neither Credit nor Power in his own Nation. This was the Reason that the Son was restored in a pitiful Habit: The English took from him all the Equipage they had given him, as supposing he had been the Son of a King. The Reputation this Savage was in for some time was the Cause of his Ruin, and it may be of his eternal Damnation; for being [164] among the Savages, he lost all the Ideas of Christian Religion.

In the fright that every body was in upon the Arrival of the English, many Savage Mountaineers came to offer their Service to the *Recolets* of *Quebec*: among the rest the above-mentioned *Napaga Biscou*, who having been instructed and baptized by Father *Joseph Caron*, endeavoured to do the best service he could to his Benefactor. As soon therefore as he could make his Escape from the English, he represented to Father *Joseph*, that if the Enemy did the same at *Quebec* they had done at *Cape Tourment*, the Savages would find no Retreat any more for their Comfort during Winter: I beg of you Father, says this Savage, that you would be pleased to let two or three of your Friars go along with me; they will say Prayers for us, and instruct our Children, and those of our Nation who have not as yet seen any *Naked Feet*, for so they call our *Recolets*: I'll support them; they shall be treated as my self, and we'll come from time to time to visit you.

Father *Joseph* liked well this Proposition: the Savage took two along with him, which he led to a place where this In-

dian dwelt, who likewise begg'd that Friar *Gervase Mobier*, a Lay-brother, might be one of them: they designed to pass that Winter among the *Algonquins*. They presently therefore departed for the three Rivers, and run a great many risques in the Journey: Their Canoes were bilged about fifteen Leagues below the three Rivers, so that they were forced to go the rest of the Journey thorow the Woods. They thought to be carried by the Tide, which flows up the River of *St. Lawrence* above a hundred and thirty six Leagues from the Sea: At last by the help of a Canoo which they light upon by chance, they came to the three Rivers,¹ where were Villages erected by the Mountaineers and *Algonquins*: [165] these Savages were expecting there the Harvest-time for their Indian Corn. They made great demonstrations of the real Affection they had for them, of whom they had heard much Discourse from Father to Son.

Being there, they understood the English were gone out of the River, and that before that they had fought and vanquished the French Fleet which came into *Canada*. This News obliged Monsieur *Champlin*, Governour of *Quebec*, as well as all the rest of the French, to desire Father *Joseph* to come back.

While things passed thus, twenty Canoes were seen to arrive, conducted by the *Hurons*, who brought along with them

¹ An appellation of the *St. Maurice* River, given on account of the three divisions or branches of its current made by two islands which lie near its mouth; a French settlement was founded by Champlain (1634) at its mouth, which is now the city of Three Rivers, Que.—ED.

Father *Joseph de la Roche Daillon*,¹ Recolet. The Grief of *Nèpaga Buscon* is not to be expressed when he was to part with this Religious: But the Order was peremptory. I cannot here forget the dexterous Contrivance of a young Christian Savage to rid himself out of the hands of the English, or rather to procure some Present from the French: He was called *Peter Antony Arekouanon*,² and had been baptized in *France*, and educated in a College at the Expence of the Prince of *Guimeni*: He was at *Tadouffac* when the English appeared there, and so was taken Prisoner with the rest, and carried aboard: he was interrogated in French and Latin, but made as if he understood nothing of what he was asked.

Captain *Michel*³ a French-man, who out of Discontent had a long time before gone over to the English, knew this Savage, and that he understood both Languages: He gave an account to the General of it, who kept him for an Interpreter for the English when they should go to traffick with the Indians. *Peter Antony* could no longer conceal his Knowledge of the two Languages, and that he was a Christian; but he bethought him of a Stratagem: He pretended [166] he would really espouse the part of the *English*. He told the Admiral he was to keep some measures with the *French*; and

¹ This Récollet missionary came to Canada in 1625, and labored among the Hurons from 1626 to 1628; he then went to Quebec, and was sent back to France by Kirk in the following year.—ED.

² Pierre Antoine Atetkouanon (according to Le Clercq; but Pastedechouan, in the Jesuit *Relations*, q. v. under that name).—ED.

³ Jacques Michel, mentioned in the *Relations* as a Huguenot.—ED.

above all, that he was much obliged to the *Recollets* who had converted him, and who had taught him what he understood of Latin and French. He begg'd of the Admiral, that he would not carry him to *Quebec*, that he could be more serviceable to him if he would be pleas'd to let him go to the three Rivers with Canoos loaden with Provisions and Merchandizes; and that he would induce a great number of Savages to come and trade. The Admiral believed what he said, and granted him all he demanded: But this Man seeing himself out of the hands of the *English*, who had treated him very civilly, went straight to the *Red Island*,¹ cross'd the River of *St. Laurence*, came to the River of *Wolves* [*Rivière du Loup*], and afterwards the Admiral heard no farther tidings of him.

They had a hard Winter of it at *Quebec*, for they wanted all sorts of Necessaries; and because the Ships which brought Provisions were seized on by the *English*, they were therefore obliged to divide the small Provision that was left. Our Religious might have had their share as well as others, but they contented themselves with Indian Corn, and the Pulse they had sown. Madam *Hebers*² made them a Present of two Barrels of Pease, which are extraordinary good and large in *Canada*; besides they had Raisins, and had made a provision of Acorns in case of necessity, and they were so happy as to catch some Eels, which are plentiful in that River.

¹ An island in the *St. Lawrence*, opposite the mouth of the *Saguenay*; in early times, noted for its seal-fisheries.—ED.

² Marie Rollet, widow of Louis Hebert; he was the first agricultural settler in *Canada* (1617). He died in 1627.—ED.

Providence multiplied their Provisions so, that they were able to furnish three Seminaries of Savages, and many more who were in great Necessity.

The Jesuits, who for some time had made use of one half of our House, having built one for themselves, where they now dwell, did their utmost to succour the *French*.

[167] Early in the Spring Monsieur *de Champlin* seeing the Necessity we were in all Winter, which was very sharp in *Canada*, inasmuch that for the most part the Snow was five or six foot deep, and continued so, for it seldom rains in Winter, begged of Father *Joseph* to grant him a part of our Lands towards *Hair-point*, or *Point aux lievres*¹: Some other private Persons granted other Lands: They were plowed in haste, and there was sown bearded Wheat, Pease and Indian Wheat, at the beginning and middle of *May*. They were forced to do so, because Wheat there cannot endure the Winter as in our Parts of *Europe*, because of the extrem Cold.

The said *Sieur Champlin* had sent People towards *Gaspè*, which is between the *Pierced Island* and *Boston*, which belongs to the *English*, to see if they could hear any tidings of any French Vessel; they went in a Chaloup, but could hear no news of any. But they were assured that the *Gaspésien* Savages offered to maintain twenty intire Families. The *Algonquins* and Mountaneers offered larger Supplies. A Ship was equipped to go into *France*; the *Sieur de Boulè*, *Sieur*

¹“Point of Hares”; a headland on the St. Lawrence shore, near Quebec; the Jesuits had a cattle-farm there.—ED.

Champlin's Brother-in-law, was made Captain of her; he took the *Sieur des Dames*¹ Commiffary of the Company, for his Lieutenant.

Being come near *Gaspè* in the Bay of St. *Laurence*, they happily met with a French Ship commanded by the *Sieur Emeric de Caen*, who brought them Supplies. He told them that the King did fend the *Sieur de Rasilly* to fight the *English*, and save the Country.² The Ship was laden, and the *Sieur de Boulle* returned towards *Quebec*, and then was taken by an English Vessel, and was made a Prisoner of War with all his Crew.

In the interim the *Hurons* arrived at *Quebec* with twenty Canoos, we bought their Indian Corn: Monsieur de *Champlin* gave one part to the Jesuits, who [168] had taken upon them the charge to take care of several; and our *Recollets* having also receiv'd a supply of Victuals, subsisted till the arrival of the *English*, which was not long.

The *English* Fleet surpris'd the *French* in *Canada*; they appeared in the Morning the 19th of July 1629, over against

¹Thierry Desdames, a naval captain; he came to Canada as early as 1622, and remained until the conquest. Returning after the retrocession of that country, he was commandant at Miscou from 1639 to 1646.—ED.

²Emery de Caen, a Huguenot naval officer, was prominent in the early history of Canada. During 1620-27 he, with his uncle Guillaume de Caen, was at the head of a mercantile company who had obtained the monopoly of the Canadian fur trade; for full account of this and several other commercial companies, see H. P. Biggar's *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901). He was also provisional governor of Quebec during the first year of the French reoccupation.

Isaac de Razilly, a naval officer of high standing, was ordered to relieve the suffering Quebec colonists; but, through some misunderstanding or neglect of orders, the ships failed to reach the place in time to prevent its capture by Kirk. Razilly is best known as governor of Acadia (1632-35.—ED.

the great Bay of *Quebec*, at the Point of the Isle of *Orleans*. The Fleet consisted of three Ships, and six others which stay'd at *Tadoussac*, and followed them. The Missioners, Jesuits, and *Recollets* had Orders to retire into the Fort of *Quebec* with the Inhabitants. Father *Valentine le Roux* assures us there was only Powder for three or four Discharges of Cannon, and eight or nine hundred Loads for Musquets.

Mr. *Kirk*, General of the English Fleet, sent an English Gentleman to *Sieur de Champlin* to summon the Place, and to deliver a very honourable Letter. The miserable state of the Country, which had neither Provisions nor Ammunition, for there had come no Supply for two Years past, obliged the Governor to return a more supple Answer than the Year past.

He therefore deputed Father *Joseph Caron*, Superior of the *Recollets*, and sent him aboard the English Admiral, to treat of the Surrender of *Quebec* upon advantageous Terms; and above all, to obtain some delay, if possible. Father *Joseph* demanded fifteen days, but the English General knowing the weak condition of the place, would admit of no delay. The Father insisted still upon fifteen days, upon which the English call'd a Council, and the Result was, they would only grant them that day till night. The Admiral gave Orders to Father *Joseph* to return to *Quebec* with this Answer, and that they should there make the Articles of Capitulation ready, which should be punctually perform'd.

[169] The English Admiral in a very civil and obliging manner told Father *Joseph*, that he with his Religious might

return to their Convent, and bid him be of good cheer, for no harm should be done them, happen what would.

Two French Prisoners, the one called *Bailli*,¹ formerly Commissary of the Company of Merchants, and *Peter le Roy*, by trade a Waggoner, had done ill Offices to the Jesuits with one of the English Captains: They persuaded him that he should find with them great Riches. This was the reason that this Captain told Father *Joseph* in a heat, that if the Wind had proved good, they would have begun with their College first. Father *Joseph* at his return told them of the design, on purpose that they might take care of their Affairs in the Articles of the Treaty which were to be made.

Father *Joseph* having receiv'd this Answer from the Admiral, who shewed him the Ships with all the Ammunition, and the Souldiers with their Arms; in conclusion, he was set a shoar, and made his Report to Monsieur *Champlin* at *Quebec*.

A Council was held, and they were divided in their Sentiments. Two French Men who had accompanied Father *Joseph*, observed that the English were but few in number, and that they had not above two or three hundred Men of regular Troops, with some others that had not the Mein of Souldiers: Besides, they confided much in the Courage of the Inhabitants of *Quebec*; they were therefore much inclined, as well as the Jesuits, and our Religious, to run the risk of a Siege. But the Experience that Monsieur *Champlin* had of the Bravery of the *English*, who would rather perish than

¹ Called Le Baillif in the *Jesuit Relations*.—ED.

desist from an Enterprize which they had once begun, advised the Council rather to surrender upon honourable Terms than ruin all. The Articles of Capitulation were drawn up according [170] to Monsieur *Champlin's* Advice: Father *Joseph* was commissioned to carry them aboard the English Admiral; and all things being adjusted, they demanded time till the next day.

At the same time the Savages that were lovers of our Religious, and above all, the afore-mentioned *Chauvin*, solicited Father *Joseph* and our Friars, that they would be pleased to grant, that two or three of our Religious might retire into the Woods, and from thence into their Country. Altho *Chauvin* was not yet well confirmed in the Christian Religion, he had a very great love and esteem for our Religious, because they lived in common as the Savages do. Then having deliberated on this Proposition, they considered on the one side, that the *English* would not be any long time in possession of the Country, and that sooner or later the King of *France* would re-enter by Treaty, or some other ways; that in the interim it would advance the common good amongst the Savages, who offered to entertain our Religious; and that when the Country returned under the Dominion of *France*, our Religious might still be found in *Canada*, and in estate to continue their ordinary Labours, and support their begun Establishment. They were the more invited to embrace this Proposal, because the English General had given so great marks of Friendship to Father *Joseph*: In conclusion, two of our Religious offered to go. Father *Joseph* at the same time

did not go far off, and during this he thought it good to lose no time, since they must depart and escape, as some of the *French* did, who went away with the Savages in a Canoo; and it was not little Grief to the Missioners to be stopp'd by force in their just Designs.

The Council of *Quebec* and the other Chieftains oppos'd their departure, and it was concluded for divers Reasons politick and purely human; which [171] whether it was for the Reproach they pretended to have reason to fear in *France*, or whether it was the distrust of Providence towards our Religious, or whether, in short, it was they did not believe the *French* would return again into *Canada*, they were forced to yield.

This afforded matter to build a Complaint upon at Court, and particularly by our Friars of the Province of *St. Denis*, against Father *Joseph*, as not having that Firmness and Zeal which he ought to have had on this occasion; and that the Savages who had put all their Confidence in the *Recollets*, had been better dispos'd to the Christian Religion than ever before.

Father *Joseph* justified himself the best he could, and affirmed he had done nothing but executed the Orders of the Council of *Quebec*, as the Answers make evident, when he gave an account to the Definitor of his Province at his return, giving an account of his Mission.

The next day, being the 20th of *July*, in the Year 1629, the *Sieur de Champlin* having been on board the English Admiral, the Articles of Capitulation were sign'd by both

Parties; after which the *English* went ashore, and were put in possession of *Canada* by the *Sieur de Champlin*.

Father *Valentine de Roux*, an antient *Commiffaire*, Provincial of the Friars of *Canada*, whom I saw at my return from my Discovery, hath all the Articles of Capitulation made by the *French* at *Quebec* with the *English*, when the *English* took possession; he said the *Sieur de Champlin* saved with his Family all his Effects, and even found some advantage by this Treaty by the good Entertainment the *English* shew'd him. The *French* Inhabitants who were then in the Country had every one twenty Crowns, and all the rest of their Goods were to remain to the Conquerors; [172] and from this was made the great Complaint, because there were found some particular Persons who were enrich'd upon this occasion. Those who were willing to stay in the Country, obtained great Advantages of the *English*, but most of all the Family of Monsieur *Hebert*, whom I have often conversed with at *Mount Royal*, when I pass'd by to go to the Fort of *Frontenac*. The Religious, I confess, were much indebted to the Generosity of the *English* for divers singular Favours, which has always made me have a great Esteem for that brave Nation: They kept punctually their Word given by their Admiral, not suffering any Injury to be done to the Convent of our Lady of Angels at *Quebec*, nor to our first Residence, which was the place where now stands the Cathedral Church of *Quebec*, our Religious not having been re-established there since.¹ But

¹ This is evidently an error; as we have already seen, the Récollets returned to Quebec in 1670.—ED.

notwithstanding all the Diligence that the English Officers made use of in our favour, they could not hinder but one of their Souldiers stole from us a Silver Chalice: But the English Officers, who are naturally generous, testified much Trouble at it to our Religious, and swore solemnly to take Revenge on the Party if he could be discovered.

The Jesuits, who came not into *Canada* till fourteen or fifteen Years after our Friars¹ (who by consequence were the first Missioners of *America*) met with a Treatment far different; their House was pillaged, and all that was found was given as a Prey to the Souldiers; and they were obliged to imbark the next day with the *Sieur Champlin*, and all the *French* except twenty seven, who set sail towards *Tadoussac*: But the two Brothers *Lewis* and [Thomas] *Kirk*, the one Admiral, and the other Vice-Admiral of the *English*, permitted our Religious to stay at *Quebec*: The *English* testifying then publicly, that they left us in *Canada*, to instruct the Natives in the [173] Principles of the Christian Religion, and that with the consent of the King of *England*, that we might be hindred from returning into *France*. They had at the same time as much familiarity with them in all things, to say or do, or make Visits, with the same liberty as before the taking of *Quebec*; also they were so far from hindering the exercise of the Romish Religion, that they prayed them to take from them Wine for the Mass; which they knew was before de-

¹ The Récollets in Canada, finding themselves unequal to so great a task, invited the Jesuits (1624) to aid them in evangelizing the Indian tribes. In accordance with this request, a party of Jesuit missionaries came to Canada in the following year; and the two orders labored together until the conquest (1629).—ED.

puted for the ordinary Service of the Church, which there they heartily offered. Our Recollects lived so above six Weeks after the taking of *Quebec*, and received much Civility from the English, who solicited them to stay amongst them, having liberty to instruct the Natives who dealt with them. This continued till the 9th of *September* following, when they embarked us aboard the *Sieur Pontgrave*,¹ who remained at *Canada*, because of his Indisposition, with a design to rejoin the *Sieur Champlin*, the Jesuits, and all the French of *Canada*, who were ordered to pass to *Tadoussac*, the day after the taking *Quebec*. I leave you to think how great Sorrow the Missioners were plunged into, when enforced to abandon a Mission so long followed, and with so much application.

The hopes that our Friars had of returning in some good time into *Canada*, made them hide in several places part of their Utenfils, and closed up in a Case of Elk Skins, put into a good Box, which no Air could get into, the principal Ornaments of the Church. The English Fleet set sail the 14th of *September* for *England*, and arrived at *Plimouth* the 18th of *October*, where our Recollects staid five or six days; after which they were conducted to *London*, with some more French; from *London* they got to *Callice* [*Calais*] the 24th of the same Month, and from thence to our Convent of *Paris*.

[174] The Publick may remark, that the English having conserved our Convent of *Quebec*, and that of our *Lady of Angels*, the last of which was found in good estate to receive

¹ François du Pont (also called Pontgravé) was a French merchant who came with his friend Champlain to Canada in 1603; he was engaged in the fur trade from that time until the conquest.—ED.

the Jesuits at their return into *Canada*, whilst their House was making ready; our Religious having told them of the place where they had hid their Ornaments, gave power to the Jesuits to make use of them, or any thing they had there, as by their consent declared to Father *John* the Jesuit,¹ which they were pleased to accept, and made use of our Goods as their own; also of our House, of our Church, and of our Lands, of which one part they hold at present, from a place called the *Gribanne*, unto the side of the Convent of our Lady of Angels. From which it is to be observed, that a Letter attributed to Father *L'Allemant* Jesuit, and related in the 13th Tome of the *French Mercury*, must be a Forgery: For there he, amongst other things contrary to Truth, makes him say that he was of the Sentiments of his Provincial, to whom he writ, to dedicate their Church to our Lady of Angels, and that ours was consecrated to St. *Charles*; which clearly demonstrates that this Letter was not Father *L'Allemant's*, as is said: He was better vers'd in the History of *America*, than to be ignorant that the first Church in *Canada* belonged to the Recollects, who were the first Missioners, and that it was consecrated under the name of *our Lady of Angels*.²

¹ This is a blunder for Paul le Jeune, who was first of the Jesuits to return to *Canada* in 1632. He was one of the most noted among the Canadian missionaries of that order, and was superior of the missions during 1632-39. In 1649 he returned to France.—ED.

² A reference to a letter written (Aug. 1, 1626) by Charles Lalemant, then superior of Canadian missions, to his brother Jérôme, also a Jesuit. It was published at Paris in 1627, and reprinted in the *Mercure François*, then the chief periodical journal of France. Hennepin's statement that this letter is a forgery seems to have no valid foundation. See Shea's *Le Clercq*, p. 329, note*; also *Jes. Relations*, iv, pp. 185-227, 248-250 — where the letter is republished in full.—ED.

[175] CHAP. XXXVII.

How the Religious of the Order of St. Francis, in their Missions through the habitable World, have been before the Jesuits.

I CANNOT but follow the Sentiments of Father *Valentine le Roux*, whom I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, which he hath been pleased to publish under the Name of Father *Christian le Clerc*.

It is a great Glory, and a great subject of Consolation, for our Holy Order of the Religious of St. *Francis*, to have had the advantage to be the first Forerunners of the Reverend Fathers of that Company of Jesus, in all places, by preaching the Gospel, and first digging, and preparing the Vineyard of our Lord, in all Apostolical things, in both the *Indies East* and *West*, in *Asia*, in *Barbary*, in *Turky*, and generally through all parts; where the Children of St. *Ignatius* have since walked in the Steps of the Children of St. *Francis*.

In the *East-Indies*, where the Jesuits are at this day great in Credit, in Merit, and in Wealth, having the Dew of Heaven, and the Fat of the Earth; the Receiver-General, whose Name I have forgot, made this Discourse in my presence, at the Table of Monsieur *Comte de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *New-France*: That eight Friars Minors were sent in the Year of our Lord 1500, and preached the Gospel at

Callicute, and *Cochim*¹; there receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, all except Father *Henry*, who at his return into *Spain* was made Confessor to the King of *Portugal*, and Bishop of *Ceuta*.

[176] In 1502, there was ordered a great Mission of our Religious, who opened the way much farther to advance the Standard of the Cross; and there made a very great progress of the Gospel, by the Conversion of a prodigious number of these People.

In the Year 1510, our Religious of the Order of St. *Francis* built the famous College or Seminary of *Goa*,² the capital City of the *East-Indies*; and our Religious had the Conduct of it, and what accrued to it, for the space of 28 Years; till at the last, in the Year 1542, our Religious gave it to St. *Francis Xaverius*, that he might apply himself wholly, with his Disciples, to preach the Gospel to those barbarous Nations; of which the Historians of those times give evidence, and the Life of St. *Francis Xaverius*, the first Edition, does declare; above all Father *Horace Torcelin*, in a later Edition, alloweth it: But a certain late Author of the Jesuits has been pleased to suppress this mark of Acknowledgment, which of Justice is due to us.³

It is well known we have had the honour both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and even in *Japan*, where we have been

¹ These names should be Calicut and Cochin, cities on the west coast of Southern Hindostan.—ED.

² One of the most important cities on the west coast of India.—ED.

³ The Society of Jesus was founded in 1534, by Ignacio de Loyola; his most prominent disciple was Francisco de Xavier. These two were afterward canonized, as St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. The latter began, in 1541, the missionary labors which have made him famous as "the apostle of the Indies"; in India and

sharers with the Fathers in the Crown of Martyrdom; our Religious having planted the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Voxu*, part of the East of *Japan*, as I have shewn in the Preface of this Book: and it is in these vast Countries where the Jesuits have been afterwards introduced, supported, loved, favoured, and joined with them in the Apostolical Labours.

It is not less evident in other parts of the World; the Religious of St. *Francis* having supported and employed to this day, as powerful Missioners as any since the beginning of their Order.

Alexander the Fourth, in the Year 1254, gives Testimony, in one of his Epistles, that our Religious had spread themselves in all Countries, not only of [177] Schismaticks, but amongst those of Infidels. Remark the words of the Sovereign Pontiff.

“*Alexander, &c.* To Our well-beloved the Friars-minors, “who have been sent Missioners into the Land of the *Sarazens*, “*Painims, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumanians, Ethiopians, Syrians,* “*Iberians, Jacobites, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians,* “*Indians, Monosolites, Tartars,* the Higher and Lower *Hungary*, to the Christian Captives among the Turks, and to “other unbelieving Nations of the East, or in any other parts “where they are, wishing them Health, and sending them our “Apostolick Benediction.

In 1272, our Reverend Father *Jerom d' Ascole*, afterwards

Japan his preaching converted thousands to the Christian faith, and in this occupation he died (1552).

Orazio Torsellini (*Torcellin*) was a professor in the Jesuit college at Rome, and wrote many historical and poetical works; he died in 1599.—ED.

created Pope *Nicholas* the Fourth, with his Disciples, not only managed the Reconciliation of the Greek with the Latin Church, but preached also the Gospel in *Tartary*; and by this means the Religious of our Order were sent for by the Princes of the Higher and Lower *Armenia*, in 1289, and continued their Conquests in 1332.

Turky, with the Kingdoms and Countries under the Grand Signior, have been, and are yet the Theaters of the Zeal of the Religious of St. *Francis*, and are demonstrations of our Travels. In the Holy Land, and other places, now subject to the Turks, the Christians are yet governed by the direction of the Children of St. *Francis*. Those who keep the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, have done considerable Service to the Reverend Fathers Jesuits; others of them upon divers occasions have willingly served them.

History maketh mention, that in the Year 1342, our Missioners went into *Bosnia* and *Sclavonia*, amongst the Infidels, amongst the great *Tartars*; who now possess *China*, and into *Persia*, *Media*, and *Chaldea*.

[178] In 1370 our Mission was reinforced by *Urban* the fifth with 60 of our Religious; the Order being then honoured by a great number of *Martyrs*.

The Embassy of *Eugenius* the 4th, and the Mission of 40 of our Religious to *Prester John*¹ in 1439, supported afterward

¹ Prester (*i. e.*, Priest) John was the title given, in the middle ages, to a supposed Christian sovereign and priest in Central Asia. It is said that this notion arose from the conversion by Nestorian missionaries, in the eleventh or the twelfth century, of a Tartar chief named Ung Khan, which was corrupted or incorrectly translated into Prester John.—ED.

by a greater Number, is well known, as well as the Reduction of these States by them to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

I should never have done, if I should undertake to give an account of all the famous Missions we have been honoured with through all the World; in which the Reverend Fathers Jesuits have since spread themselves, and are now entred into our Labours, or rather we have the Advantage of continuing them with us, and acting together in perfect Union for the Glory of God, and Propagation of his Gospel, which we only seek.

It is for this reason, that our Recolets of *Paris* called into *Canada* the Jesuits to help them, that they might labour together for the gaining of Souls: But it is remarkable, that when the English had restored *Canada* to the French after four Years abode there, the Jesuits, who had better Helps for returning thither than our Religious, and as it were by Intrigues, a Bar was put to the Return of our Recolets. It was a sensible trouble to see, that since we had preceded all the Jesuits in all other Missions of the Christian World, that of *New France* was the only Place where we had not the Consolation to continue with them in the Apostolical Labours; and by so much the more, because that reciprocal Charity, which was not in the least diminished between the two Bodies, perswaded us that the Jesuits, full of Vertue and Merit, had much regretted our absence, as seems to be evident by their Letters at that time.

It would require a Volume to describe the Difficulties that

our Religious have had, to return into our [179] Missions of *Canada*, and the Intrigues that some have made use of to hinder it: but nothing was omitted as to that. In conclusion, about thirty years after the Deputies of *Canada*, who were impatient for the return of our Recolets, told our Religious more than they were willing to know, and more than Charity would permit to publish; the Deputies told our Religious, they wanted some to make Curats at *Quebec*, and in some other places; that their Consciences were much troubled to have to do with the same People, both for Spirituals and Temporals, there being no Persons to whom they might communicate the difficulties of their Consciences, but to the Jesuits; and that the Recolets not being suffered to be amongst them was a great loss.

The Directors of the Company of *Canada*¹ discoursed us to the like purpose, particularly Monsieur *Rose*, in company of Monsieur *Margonne*, *Berbubier*, and others; who speaking to our Recolets, expres'd himself in these terms. 'My Fathers, it had been better you had returned into *Canada* than any others; it is a high Injustice done to them, and the Inhabitants: we now see where the Fault lay, present your Reasons, and you, and those of the Country, shall have all the Justice we can do you. The Secretary of the Company

¹ The commercial company (formed 1627) by Richelieu and other French officials, with many wealthy merchants, for carrying on the fur trade; it was called "Company of New France," also "the Hundred Associates." It had a monopoly of all Canadian trade, and thus gained enormous profits. In 1663 the company surrendered its charter to the crown. Margonne and Jean Rozée were directors of the company; the other name is probably a misprint for Berthier (Alexandre).—ED.

likewise spoke thus to the Religious. 'At other times, my
' Fathers, I have been against you, for which I have begged
' God's pardon: I was mistaken at that present; I see well I
' have offended; and I pray God you may be suffered to re-
' turn into *Canada*, after so long time, there to take charge
' of your Cures: you are much longed for, for the repose of
' Consciences.

Father *Zachary Moreau*, Recolet, who died the death of
the Just in my Arms, in our Convent of *St. Germain en Lay*,
and *Paul Huett*, who hath been my Father and Master from
my Youth, at our Convent [180] of Recolets at *Montargis*,
said to the Deputies of the Company of *Canada*; 'That tho'
' they would even permit us to return, we would not pretend
' to exercise the Function of Curats, lest we should give
' Jealousy to any: But if the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits
' should do us the same favour that our antient Fathers had
' done them, in the Year 1625, when our Father *Joseph le*
' *Caron*, Superiour of our Convent of *Quebec*, permitted them,
' and even pray'd them out of love to exercise the Function
' of Cures by turns. But all at last served for nothing; the
' Company sent back our Religious to the Council of *Quebec*,
' to amuse them; because the Council was composed of a
' Governour, and Persons who were Creatures of the Rev-
' erend Fathers Jesuits, as were the Superiour of the Mission
' of [*sc.* and] the *Sindic*, and [some] of the Inhabitants, whom
' they easily gained to hinder our return into *Canada*. The
' Father Provincial of the Jesuits, and the Father *L' Allemont*
' Superiour of the Profest House, was then in *France*, Supe-

'riour of the Missions, which all center'd to prolong our 'return. The Reader may judg, that if the Reverend Fathers Jesuits had been in our place, and our Recolets in theirs, whether we should have been wanting to put a value upon their Requests, and employed our Credit to serve them: Our Recolets stood firm for them against the whole Country, who were against their coming into *Canada*; and after their arrival, when the Governour and Inhabitants opposed their Reception, in the Year 1625, we supported them.

True Charity, which is right and simple, perswaded us the Reverend Fathers Jesuits would not be wanting to make us a willing return of the like, upon this present occasion; and they assured us by their Letter the Year following, that it was only want of Power and Credit in the Council of *Quebec*, that they could not do us the Service they desired.

[181] From this it is easy to judg, that there was not one favourable Resolution given towards our Religious: The Director-General of the Company, Monsieur *Lauzon*, appearing to be careless of our return, and in it a very great Obstacle; he passing in quality of Governour of *Canada*, having often promised our Re-admission: and afterwards going Governour, pretended not to be wanting to do us good Offices. The Marquess *de Deno[n]ville*, who after the great Discovery I had made, went over in quality of Governour of *Canada*, made us the like Promises of Monsieur *Lauzon*,¹ for the progress of our Discovery: besides, the

¹ Jean de Lauzon (one of the Hundred Associates) was Governor of Canada during 1651-56. Both he and Denonville were friendly to the Jesuits. — ED.

Marquefs had Orders to fupport our Recolets in their Inftitute, from the Court of *France*; but it proved quite contrary. The Court afterwards recalling him from his Government, it was given to Monfieur the Count *de Frontenac*, who hath been in my time a true Father to our Recolets, and a great fupport to our Miffions in *Canada*; as I have fpoke at large in my Defcription of my *Louifiana*, and more in my former Volume.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Sentiments that a Missioner ought to have of the little Progresses they find in their Labours.

ALL the Christian World acknowledg for a certain and undoubted Truth, and Maxim of Religion, and one of the chief Principles of Faith, that the Vocation and true Conversion of People and Nations, is the great Work and Mercy of the Power of God, and of the triumphant Efficacy of his Grace and Spirit. But if this be true of Nations that are Infidels and Idolaters, which are already under some [182] Laws and Rules, and so better prepared to receive the Instructions of Christian Religion; the Apostolick Man ought much more to acknowledg this dependance upon the Sovereign Lord, in respect of those barbarous Nations who have not any regard of any Religion true or false, who live without Rule, without Order, without Law, without God, without Worship, where Reason is buried in Matter, and incapable of reasoning the most common things of Religion and Faith.

Such are the People of *Canada*, all along the River of *St. Laurence*, and generally a prodigious quantity of People, of fundry Nations; which I have given an account of in my *Louisiana*, or former Book. And that which I offer is that they would in earnest acknowledg, that the Work of

the conversion of so many blind Nations, is above our strength, and that it only appertains to the Father of Spirits, as saith St. *Paul*, who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands, and who only is able to remove the Vail which covereth the Eyes of these Barbarians, and to clear their Understanding, to dissipate the Chaos of darkness, wherein they are buried, to bend their Inclinations, soften their hard and inflexible Hearts, and civilize them, and make them capable of those Laws which right Reason suggests; and so submit themselves to that which Religion prescribes.

This is the Foundation of a true Apostleship, in respect of the Natives of *Canada*, and all our great Discoveries twelve hundred Leagues beyond it. They ought to have all Moral and Theological Vertues, who are designed for so great a work as the Conversion of so many Nations; for whose Salvation I would willingly expose my Life. But before one sacrifices, and wholly devotes himself to this great Mission, he ought to lay it down for a certain Principle, That none can be drawn efficaciously to Jesus Christ, if the [183] Father of Lights do not draw him by the force of his victorious Grace: This his invisible Spirit breathes where and when he pleases; that the moments of Grace are known to God, and in the hands of the Power of the Father; and that having called all Men to Faith, in the preparation of his good Will, common to all, he gives them in his own time, exterior, interior, and sufficient Grace to obtain it: That the work is not only of him that runs, nor him that wills, but principally of him who illuminates and touches the Heart. The Glory

does not belong to him that preaches, nor to him that plants, nor to him that waters, but to him that gives the increase. That a Sacrifice of all Nature is not able to merit of *right*, the first Grace of Creation, which does not fall under that head. That it's in vain to endeavour to erect a Spiritual Edifice, if God do not assist by his preparing and preventing Grace.

An humble Simplicity must be the sole of all their Apostolical Labours, and a profound Annihilation of themselves, and submission to the holy Will of God. When their Zeal has not its effect, they must be content to say, We have done our part, as to what is required of our Ministry, but we are unprofitable Servants.

I now beg of my Lord God upon my Knees, with my hands lifted up to Heaven, that he would be pleased to continue and imprint in my Heart even to death, the Sentiments of Submission to the Will of God, and my Superiors, touching the Salvation of the Souls of so many Savages, who are in the darkness of Ignorance; that I may make an intire Sacrifice of the rest of my days in so laudable an Affair, exposing my Soul to all the Events of the Providence of God, living and dying; and that I may be so happy as to leave Sentiments truly Apostolical, full of light, capacity, Vertue and Grace, of Zeal and Courage to undertake [184] any thing for the Conversion of Souls, to suffer patiently the greatest Difficulties, and the severest Contradictions, for the accomplishment of their Ministry.

I beg of God from the bottom of my Heart, that all the

Miffioners of the Univerfe may with me be of the number of the Veffels of Election, deftinated to carry the Name of our Lord to People and Barbarous Nations, to the utmoft ends of the World; and that the adorable Providence of God would be pleafed to fortify his Militant Church with a number of Workmen, to labour in his Vineyard, to fecond the Labours of all other Orders, Secular and Regular, in the new eftablifhments of the Kingdom of Jefus Chrift.

FINIS.

[185] *An Account of several New Discoveries in
North-America.*

Of New-France.

MR. *Joliet*, who was sent by Count *Frontenac* to discover a Way into the *South-Sea*, brought an exact Account of his Voyage, with a Map of it; But his Canow being overfet, at the Foot of the Fall of *St. Louis*, in fight of *Montroyal*, his Chest and his two Men were loft; therefore the following Account contains only what he has remembred.¹

I fet out from the Bay of *Puans* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 4 Minutes, and having travell'd about 60 Leagues to the Westward, I found a *Portage*; and carrying our Canows over-land for half a League, I embark'd with six Men on the River *Misconfing*, which brought us into the *Meschafipi* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and an half, on the 15th of *June*, 1674. This *Portage* is but 40 Leagues from the *Missiffipi*. This River is half a League broad; its Stream is gentle to the Latitude of 38 degrees; for a River, from the West-North which runs into it, increafe fo much its Rapidity, that we

¹ This is a poor and inaccurate abridgment of the account given in a contemporary MS. which is published by Margry in his *Découvertes et établissemens des Français*, i, pp. 262-270; it is reproduced (with translation) in *Jes. Relations*, lviii, pp. 92-109.—ED.

cou'd make but five Leagues a Day in our Return. The Savages told us, that the Current is not half so great in Winter. The Banks of that River are covered with Woods down to the Sea; but the Cotton-Trees are so big, that I have seen some Canows made of those Trees, eighty Foot long, and three broad, which carry thirty Men. I saw 180 of those Wooden-Canows in one Village of the Savages, [186] consisting of 300 Cabins. They have abundance of Holly Trees, and other Trees, the Bark whereof is White; Grapes, Apples, Plums, Chesnuts, Pomegranates, Mulberries, besides other Nuts unknown to *Europe*; plenty of Turkey-Cocks, Parrots, Quails, Wild-Bulls, Stags, and Wild-Goats. These Savages are affable, civil and obliging; and the first I met with presented me with a Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which is a Protection even in a Fight. Their Women and old Men take care of the Culture of the Ground, which is so fertile as to afford three Crops of *Indian* Corn every Year. They have abundance of Water-Melons, Citruls, and Gourds. When they have sown their Corn, they go a Hunting for Wild Bulls, whose Flesh they eat, and the Skin serves for their Coverings, having dress'd the same with a sort of Earth, which serves also to dye them. They have Axes and Knives from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in exchange of their Beavers, and Skins of Wild Goats. Those who live near the Sea have some Fire-Arms.

The *Mississipi* has few Windings and Turnings, and runs directly to the South, and having follow'd its Course till the 33^d Degree of Latitude, I resolv'd to return home, seeing

that River did not discharge it self into *Mar Vermejo*,¹ which we look'd for, as also because the *Spaniards* observ'd our Motions for six Days together. The Savages told me, that the *Spaniards* live within thirty Leagues to the Westward.

The said M. *Joliet* adds, That he had set down in his Journal an exact Description of the Iron-Mines they discover'd, as also of the Quarries of Marble, and Cole-Pits, and Places where they find Salt-Petre, with several other things. He had also observ'd what were the fittest Places to settle Colonies, &c. The Soil is very fertile, and produces abundance of Grapes, which might make delicious Wines.

[187] The River of *St. Lewis*,² which hath its Source near *Missichiganen* [Michigan], is the biggest, and the most convenient for a Colony, its Mouth into the Lake being very convenient for an Harbour. It is deep and broad, and well stock'd with Sturgeons, and other Fishes. The Stags, Bulls, Wild-Goats, Turkey-Cocks, and other Game, are more plentiful on the Banks of the said River, than any where else. There are Meadows Ten or Twenty Leagues broad, encompass'd with fine Forests; behind which are other Meadows, in which Grass grows six Foot high. Hemp grows naturally in all that Country.

Those who shall settle themselves there, need not be oblig'd, as we are here, to bestow Ten Years labour for felling down the Trees, and grubbing up the Land, before it is fit for Corn; for the Ground is ready for the Plough in that

¹ The Vermillion Sea, now the Gulf of California.— ED.

² So called by Joliet, but later known as the Illinois River.— ED.

fortunate Country, where they may have good Wine. Their young Wild Bulls may be easily learn'd to plough their Land; and their long curl'd Hair, or rather Wool, may serve to make good Cloth for their wearing. In short, that Soil wou'd afford any thing necessary for Life, except Salt, which they might have another way.

[188] *An Account of M. La Salles Voyage to the River Miffiffipi. Directed to Count Frontenac, Governor of New-France.*

THE River of *Niagara* is Navigable for three Leagues, that is, from the Fall to the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*; but the Stream is so rapid, that it is almost impossible for a Bark to sail up into the Lake, without a strong Gale, and the help of many Men to hale from the Shore at the same time. But besides all this, it requires so many other Precautions, that one cannot expect always to succeed.

The Mouth of the Lake *Erie* is full of Sands, which make it dangerous; therefore to avoid that Danger, and not venture a Ship every Voyage, it will be safer to leave it at an Anchor, in a River which runs into the Lake six Leagues from the River *Niagara*, and is the only Harbour and Anchorage in this Lake.

There are three great Points which advance above ten Leagues into it; but being chiefly made up of Sand, they are so low that there is great Danger of running a Ship against them before they are discover'd, and therefore a Pilot must be very skilful and careful to steer a Ship in this dangerous Lake.

The Streight or Canal between the Lake *Erie*, and the *Huron*, is very rapid, and no less difficult than that of *Niagara*,

though much deeper. The Streight of *Miffilikinac* between the Lake *Huron*, and that of the *Illinois*, is attended with no less Difficulties, for the Current is commonly against the Wind. There is no Anchorage in the Lake [189] *Huron*, nor any Harbour in that of the *Illinois*, upon the Northern, Western, and Southern Coasts. There are many Islands in both Lakes, which make the Navigation of that of the *Illinois* very perilous; for there being no Harbour to run into for shelter, and the Storms being very terrible on that Lake, 'tis a great Providence when a Ship escapes being dash'd in pieces against those Islands. However, some Canals and Anchorages may be discover'd in time, which will remove those great Difficulties, as has hapned in the Lake of *Frontenac*, the Navigation whereof is now easy, whereas it was at first as dangerous as that of the Lake *Huron* or *Illinois*.

The Creek through which we went from the Lake of the *Illinois*, into the *Divine River*, is so shallow, and so much expos'd to the Storms, that no Ship can venture to get in, unless it be in a great Calm.¹ Neither is the Country between the said Creek and the *Divine River*, fit for a Canal; for the Meadows between them are drown'd after any great Rain, and so a Canal will be immediately fill'd up with Sands: And besides, it is impossible to dig up the Ground, because

¹ This "creek" was the Chicago River; and the Divine River was the Des Plaines, the northern fork of the Illinois; on Joliet's map of 1674 the name Divine is applied to the entire course of the Illinois. The old portage-trail and these two rivers have been made the route for the great Chicago Drainage Canal, which extends from Chicago to Joliet, and furnishes a waterway for navigation (thus far, not open to large vessels) between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.—ED.

of the Water, that Country being nothing but a Morafs: But fupposing it were poffible to cut the Canal, it wou'd be however ufelefs; for the *Divine River* is not navigable for forty Leagues together; that is, from that Place to the Village of the *Illinois*, except for Canows, who have hardly Water enough in Summer-time. Befides this Difficulty, there is a Fall near the Village.

We have feen no Mines there, though feveral Pieces of Copper are found in the Sand when the River is low. There is the beft Hemp in that Country I have feen any where, though it grows naturally without any culture. The Savages tell us, that they have found near this Village fome yellow Metal; but that cannot be Gold, according to [190] their own Relation, for the Oar [Ore] of Gold cannot be fo fine and bright as they told us. There are Coal-Pits on that River.

The Wild Bulls are grown fomewhat fcarce fince the *Illinois* have been at War with their Neighbours, for now all Parties are continually Hunting of them. The Navigation is eafy from Fort *Crevecœur* to the Sea; and *New-Mexico* is not above twenty Days Journey from the faid Fort. The Nations of the *Metontonta*,¹ who live within Ten Days Journey from the faid Fort, came to fee M. *la Salle*, and brought a Horfe's Hoof with them: They told us, That the *Spaniards* make a cruel War upon them, and that they ufe Spears more commonly than Fire-Arms. One may go by Water from Fort *Crevecœur* to the Habitation of thefe Savages.

¹ Or Otontenta; the Des Moines River, and tribes dwelling thereon.—ED.

There are no *Europeans* at the Mouth of the River *Colbert* (or *Missiffipi*); and the Monster of which M. *Joliet* gives so dreadful a Description, is a Fancy of some Savages, and had never any Original. It is within a Days Journey and a half from Fort *Crevecœur*; but had M. *Joliet* gone down the River, he might have seen a more terrible one. That Gentleman has not consider'd that the *Mofopoela*, of whom he takes notice in his Map, were altogether destroy'd before he set out for his Voyage. He sets down also in his Maps several Nations, which are nothing but Families of the *Illinois*. The *Pronevoa*, *Carcarilica*, *Tamaroa*, *Koracocnitonon*, *Cbinko*, *Caokia*, *Cboponsca*, *Amonokoa*, *Cankia*, *Ocanfa*, and several others, make up the Nation and the Village of the *Illinois*, consisting of about 400 Cabins cover'd with Rushes, without any Fortifications. I have told 1800 fighting Men amongst them. They have Peace now with all their Neighbours, except the *Iroquese*; and it wou'd be easy to reconcile them, were it not to be fear'd that they wou'd afterwards fall upon the *Outouats*, whom they mortally hate, and disturb [191] thereby our Commerce; so that we must leave them as they are; for as long as they shall have occasion for us, they will be ready to comply with any thing that we can desire from them, and keep in awe the Nations inhabiting to the Westward, who are much afraid of the *Illinois*.

The Banks of seven or eight Rivers, which discharge themselves into the *Missiffipi*, or *Colbert-River*, the least whereof runs above 300 Leagues, are cover'd with Fine Timber for Building Ships.

M. la Salle has seen some Savages of three Nations through which *Ferdinand Sotto* pass'd with his Army, viz. the *Sicachia*, *Cascin*, and *Aminoya*¹: They told him that we might go by Water from *Crevecœur* into their Country.

It is highly necessary to carry on this Discovery; for the River inhabited by the *Sicachia*, which in all likelihood is the true *Cbukagoua*, has its Source near *Carolina*, and consequently very near the Habitation of the *English*, about three hundred Leagues to the Eastward of the *Mississipi* in the *French Florida*, at the foot of the *Apalachin* Hills: For had the *English* notice of it, they might by means of this River-Trade with the *Illinois*, *Miamis*, *Nadouessians*, and other Savages, spoil for ever our Commerce.

The Winter has been as hard in the Country of the *Illinois* as at *Fort Frontenac*; for though the Weather was there in *January* as temperate as in *Provence*, yet the River was still frozen on the 22d of *March*; and therefore I conclude 'tis much the same Climate as the Country of the *Iroquese*.

The Country between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the Lake *Erie*, is a row of Mountains for a hundred Leagues together, from whence spring a great number of Rivers, which run to the Westward into the Lake of the *Illinois*, to the North into the Lake *Huron*, to the East into the Lake *Erie*, and to the South into the River *Ohio*.² Their Sources

¹ Sicachia were Chicasas. The Tennessee River was on early maps called Casquinambo; one of these, by De l' Isle, names it "River of the Casquinambaux or Cheraquis" (Cherokees). It is apparently the Tennessee River which is mentioned in the following paragraph.—ED.

² The southeastern watershed of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan varies from 400

are so near one [192] another, that in three Days Journey I cross'd twenty two, the least whereof is bigger than that of *Richelieu*. The top of these Mountains are flat, and full of Bogs and Morasses, which being not frozen, have prov'd an insupportable difficulty and trouble in our Voyage. There are now-and-then some Plains, which I take to be very fertile; they are cover'd with Bears, Stags, Wild-Goats, Turkey-Cocks, and Wolves, who are so fierce as hardly to be frighted away by the Noise of our Guns. There is a River in the bottom of the Lake *Erie*, within Ten Leagues of the Canal, which may very much shorten the way to the *Illinois*, it being navigable for Canows till within two Leagues of theirs¹; but the most convenient of all is the River *Ohio*, which being navigable for Barks, will save all the trouble of making a Communication between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the *Divine River*, and the great Expences of making the said River navigable to Fort *Crevecœur*.

One must not fancy that the Ground in the Country of the *Illinois* is ready for the Plough; some of them are too dry, others too wet; and in short, all require some Toil and Trouble; but I am sure they can sufficiently recompence in a little time, those who will be at the pains to cultivate them.

The Nations through which we have pass'd have receiv'd us very kindly, because of our *Calumet* of Peace, which is a

to 600 feet in altitude. Hennepin mentions it as a "row of Mountains" simply because it rises abruptly from a trough or depression (with an altitude of not over 72 feet) which extends across the center of the Peninsula; this sudden rise gives the effect of an apparently much greater height to the watershed.—ED.

¹The Maumee River.—ED.

safe Conduct and a sufficient Recommendation amongst the Savages.

The *Illinois* offer'd to accompany us to the Sea, in hopes, as we told them, that we would supply them that way with *European* Commodities; for the want of Knives, Axes, &c. makes them very officious. The young Calves may be easily tam'd, and very useful for fetling our Plantations. The *Illinois* have also many Slaves¹ which may be of great use to us.

There are as many idle Fellows amongst them as among other Nations, and a great many more Women [193] than Men. They marry several Wives, sometimes nine or ten, and commonly all Sisters if they can, thinking they agree better in their Family.

I have seen three Children who have been Baptiz'd; one call'd *Peter*, the other *Joseph*, and the third *Mary*, who nevertheless are like to live as their Father, who has marry'd three Sisters; for they have no farther Christian Instruction; Father *Allouez*,² who Baptiz'd them, having left that Country, unless one would think that the Stick that Father left amongst them, as a Mark that the Country belongs to him, has any extraordinary Virtue to promote Christianity. These are the

¹The Illinois Indians were especially active in collecting, and selling to other tribes, slaves captured from the regions beyond the Mississippi. The French who settled at Kaskaskia and other places on the great river adopted from the savages the custom of slaveholding — first of Indian captives, and later of negroes brought from Louisiana. — ED.

²Claude Jean Allouez came to Canada in 1658, and labored in the Western missions from 1665 until his death (Aug. 27, 1689). He founded the Jesuit missions at Chequamegon Bay and Green Bay, and succeeded Marquette among the Illinois tribes; at the time of his death, he was laboring with the Miamis on St. Joseph River. — ED.

only Christians I have found amongst them, which I am sure cannot be such but *in Fide Ecclesiae*.

Father *Allouez* lives now in a Village of the *Miamis*, *Mafkoutens*, and *Ocbiakens*, who have quitted their own Nation and Ancient Habitations, to confederate themselves with the *Iroquese* against the *Illinois*; and for that purpose they sent last Summer an Embassy into the Country of the *Iroquese*, with a Letter of Father *Allouez*. The end of that Embassy was, as I have said, to oblige 'em to unite themselves with them against the *Illinois*; and they were negotiating the Alliance, when I arriv'd at the Village of the *Tsonnontouans*; and upon notice thereof, a Woman was sent to tell them to run away, for fear the *Iroquese* should kill them. They had however no design to do them any harm, as it appear'd afterwards; for the *Iroquese* having overtaken the said Ambassadors, they were kindly us'd; but they enter'd upon no Business, as long as I continu'd there. I met with one of the said Ambassadors since that time in their own Country, who told me such horrid things, that I cannot entirely believe them; and I rather suspect the *Miamis* to be Contrivers thereof. However, Father *Allouez* had no sooner intelligence that I was arriv'd at the Village of the [194] *Illinois*, than that they sent one *Monso*, one of their Chiefs, with four large Kettles, twelve Axes, and twenty Knives, to persuade the *Illinois* that I was Brother of the *Iroquese*; that my Breath smell'd like theirs; that I eat Serpents; that I was sent to betray them, and attack them one way, while the *Iroquese* should attack them

by another; that I was hated by all the *Black-Gowns*, who forsook me because I design'd to destroy the *Miamis*, having taken two of them Prisoners; and, lastly, that I understood Physick enough to poyson all the World. Their Suggestions were so ridiculous and so false, that I had no great difficulty to convince the *Illinois* of the Malice of my Enemies; and *Monso* was in great danger of losing his Life for his pains. They told him he had an *Iroquese* Serpent under his Tongue, meaning his Baseness and Malice; that his Comrades who had been Ambassadors into their Country, had brought that Venom, and had breathed in the Malice of the *Iroquese* in smoaking in their *Calumet*. I was oblig'd to intercede for him, for else they would have murther'd him.

'Tis certain, that their Design is to engage Count *Frontenac* into a War with the *Iroquese*; and having tri'd in vain several Ways to succeed, they think there is no better than to persuade the Nation of the *Miamis*, who are our Confederates, to settle themselves near the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them, insomuch that the *Iroquese* cannot attack one Nation, without breaking with the other, and thereby oblige your Lordship either to forsake our Allies, or declare Wars against the *Iroquese*. This is not a rash and groundless Judgment; for these *Miamis*, with whom Father *Allouez* lives, have kill'd several *Iroquese* this Winter; and having cut the Fingers of another, they sent him back to tell their Nation that the *Miamis* are join'd with the *Illinois* against them. Perhaps that Perfidiousness obliges [195] Father *Allouez* to quit them

next Spring, as I understand he designs to do. However, I am confident to stop the Progress of this Cabal, if your Lordship comes this Year to weep for the Death of the Onontake [Onondagas], who have been kill'd; for the *Illinois* have promis'd me to release some Slaves, and forbear their Excursions against the *Iroquefe*, who having been inform'd of my Good Offices, have express'd a great Gratitude thereof. This *Weeping* is a common Ceremony among the Savages, when any of their Warriors have been kill'd.

I do not wonder that the *Iroquefe* should talk of invading our Allies; for they are every Year provok'd; and I have seen at *Missilinaokinak*, amongst the *Poutouatamits* and the *Miamis*, the Heads of several *Iroquefe*, whom they have kill'd by Treachery, as they were a Hunting last Spring. This is come to the Knowledge of the *Iroquefe*; for our Allies have been so impudent as to boast of it; and especially the *Poutouatamits*, who dancing the *Calumet* at *Missilinaokinak* before three *Agneiz*, or Envoys of the *Iroquefe*, boasted of their Treachery, and held in their Hands several Heads of Hair of *Iroquefe*'s.

I cannot forbear to take notice of the Discourse I had with a Savage of the Nation of the *Wolf*, who being convinc'd of the Truth of the Christian Religion, and press'd by some Missionaries to embrace the Catholick, and by some *English* Ministers to embrace Theirs, was in great perplexity which of the two he should chuse; for, as he told me, these Men are very unlike the Apostles; the former because of their great Covetousness, and the latter because of their being

marri'd. But having observ'd in the *Recolleſts* both Chaſtity and the Contempt of the Riches of the World, he was Baptiz'd by them.

I have ſeen in this Country abundance of Green Parrots, bigger and finer than thoſe of our Iſlands.

[196] *A Discovery of some New Countries and Nations in the Northern America. By Father Marquette.*

ON the 13th of *May*, 1673, I embark'd with M. *Joliet*, who was chosen to be our Director in this Undertaking, and five other *French-men*, in two Canows made of Barks of Trees, with some *Indian Corn* and boil'd [*sc.* smoked] Flesh for our Subsistence. We had taken care to get from the Savages all the Intelligence we could, concerning the Countries through which we design'd to travel, and had drawn a Map of the same, according to their Relation, in which we had mark'd the Rivers, and the Name of the Nations we were to meet, and the Rhombs of the Wind we were to make use of in our Journey.

The first Nation we met with, is call'd the *Nation of the Wild-Oats*¹: I went into their River to visit that People, to whom we have preach'd the Gospel for several Years, and amongst whom there are many good Christians. The *Wild-Oats*, from which they have got their Name, is a sort of Corn which grows naturally in the small Rivers, the bottom whereof is *Owzie*,² as also in marshy Grounds. It is much like our

¹The Menominees, whose name means "wild-rice people"—so called because that grain (*Zizania aquatica*) is abundant in their country, and an important part of their food. They lived on the river which still bears their name; it forms part of the boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin.—ED.

²That is, oozy, meaning "slimy" or "muddy."—ED.

European Oats; the Stem is knotted, and grows about two Foot above the Surface of the Water. The Corn is not bigger than ours, but it is twice as long, and therefore it yields much more Meal. It grows above the Water in *June*, and the Savages gather it about *September* in this [197] manner: They go in their Canows into those Rivers, and as they go they shake the Ears of the Corn in their Canows, which easily falls, if it be ripe: They dry it upon the Fire; and when it is very dry, they put it into a kind of Sack made with the Skin of Beasts; and having made a Hole in the Ground, they put their Sack therein, and tread on it till they see the Chaff is separated from the Corn, which they Winnow afterwards. They pound it in a Mortar to reduce it into Meal, or else boil it in Water, and season it with Grease, which makes it near as good as our Rice.

I acquainted that Nation with the Design I had to travel farther into the Country, to discover the remotest Nations, and teach them the Mysteries of our Holy Religion; at which they were mightily surpriz'd, and did their utmost to dissuade me from that Enterprize. They told me that I should meet some Nations who spare no Strangers, whom they kill without any Provocation or Mercy; that the War those different Nations had one with the other, should daily expose me to be taken by their Warriors, who are perpetually abroad to surprize their Enemies: That the great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of dreadful Monsters, who devour'd Men, and even the Canows themselves. They added, That a Devil stopp'd the Passage of the said River, and sunk those

who were so bold as to come near the place where he stood; and, in short, that the Heat was so excessive in those Parts, that we should never be able to preserve our Health.

I return'd them my hearty Thanks for their good Advices; but told them I would not follow them, since the Salvation of a great many Souls were concern'd in our Undertaking, for whom I should be glad to lose my Life. I added, That I laugh'd at their pretended Devils and Monsters, and that their [198] Informations would oblige us to stand the more upon our Guard to avoid any Surprize. And so having pray'd to God with them, and given them some Instructions, we parted from them, and arriv'd at the Bay of *Puans* [Green Bay], where our Fathers make a considerable Progress towards the Conversion of those Ignorant Nations.

The Name of this Bay sounds better in the Language of the Savages than in ours; for according to the Word they make use of, one may call it as well the *Salted Bay*, as the *Sinking Bay*; for they call the Sea after the same Name. This oblig'd us to enquire whether there were in that Country any Salt Springs, as there is one among the *Iroquese*; but we could find none; and therefore we think that this Name was given to this Bay, because of the great quantity of Mud and Owze that is there, from whence such Vapours arise, that occasion the most dreadful Thunders that ever I heard in any Country.

This Bay is about thirty Leagues long, and about eight

broad, that is to say in its greatest breadth; for it grows narrower, and forms a Cone at the extremity; where one may easily observe, that this Bay has its settled Tides just as the Sea. This is not a proper place to enquire whether the Flowing and Ebbing of the Water of this Bay, may be properly call'd a Tide, or whether they are occasion'd by the Winds, which never, or very seldom fail to blow from the same Point upon the Moon's ascending our Horizon; but this I may say, That in the greatest Calm, the Waters in this Bay flow and ebb according to the Motion of the Moon; though I will not deny but that the Winds, which move the Waters towards the middle of the Lake, may contribute to this effect.¹

We left this Bay to go into a River that discharges it self therein; and found its Mouth very [199] broad and deep. It flows very gently; but after we had advanc'd some Leagues into it, we saw it was interrupted by several Rocks and rapid Streams; and so shallow in some places, that it would hardly bear our Canows. The bottom is full of Flints, which are as so many Razors that cut the Canows, and made it impossible for our Men to walk therein, to make the Canows more light, when the shallowness of the Water did not permit us to row away.² It is full of Bustard, Ducks, and Teals, because of the Wild Oats in the Marshes thereabouts. However, we conquer'd those Difficulties, and

¹ See the observations made by the Jesuit Louis André upon these tides (*Jes. Relations*, lvi, pp. 137-139; lvii, 301-305; lx, 205-207).—ED.

² The (Lower) Fox River of Wisconsin, the outlet of Lake Winnebago.—ED.

came to an Habitation of the *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux*¹; but before we arriv'd at the Village, I had the Curiosity to taste the Mineral Water of a River near it, and found a Simple of a wonderful Virtue against the Venom of the Serpents. A Savage who knew it, had shown it to Father *Allouez*, who had often occasion to try its Virtues, God having been pleased to provide that Country with that wonderful Antidote against the Serpents, who are very dangerous in those Parts. The Root of that Simple is very hot, and tastes like Gunpowder; they chew it, and apply it to the Part of the Body stung by the Serpents; and this without any other Mystery cures the Wound; and the Serpents have such an Antipathy against the Herb, that they run away from any Man who has rubb'd his Body with the same. It produces several Stalks about a foot high; the Leaves are somewhat long; the Flower is white, and the whole looks like our Gilliflowers. I took one into our Canow, the better to examine it.

This Bay of *Puans* had been hitherto, as one may say, the *Ultima Thulæ* of the *French*, for they never durst advance further into the Country. This Village, as I have intimated, consists of three several Nations, *viz.* *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux* [Kickapoos]. The first are more civil than the other, and better [200] shap'd, as well as more liberal. They wear long Hair over their Ears, which looks well

¹ The site of this Indian village cannot be identified, further than to locate it on the Upper Fox River, above Lake Winnebago—probably in Green Lake County. See discussion of the subject in *Jes. Relations*, liv, p. 308; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 42, note 1.—ED.

enough. They are accounted valiant Men amongst their Neighbours; but are so cunning, that they seldom return from their warlike Expeditions without Booty. They are apt to learn any thing, for they love to hear the *European's* Talk; and Father *Allouez* told me, That they had such a violent desire to be instructed, that they often disturb'd his Rest to ask him Questions about what he had told them the Day before. The *Maskoutens* and *Kikabeux* are more Clownish; and there is as much difference between the *Miamis* and them, as between our Boors and Citizens. As the Rind of Birch-Trees are scarce in this Country, they are oblig'd to make their Cabins with Rushes, which serve as well for covering the same, as for Walls. It must be own'd that these Cabins are very convenient; for they take them down when they please, and carry them by small Parcels wherever they will, without any trouble.

When I arriv'd there, I was very glad to see a great Cross set up in the middle of the Village, adorn'd with several White Skins, Red Girdles, Bows and Arrows, which that good People had offer'd to the Great *Manitou*, to return him their Thanks for the care he had taken of them during the Winter, and that he had granted them a prosperous Hunting. *Manitou* is the Name they give in general to all Spirits whom they think to be above the Nature of Man.¹

Their Village is situated on a Hill, from whence one may

¹The cross had to these savages a symbolic meaning, long before they saw white men. See W. J. Hoffman's explanation of its use by the Medicine society among the Menominees, in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1885-86, p. 155.—ED.

discover the largest Meadows in the World, adorn'd at certain distance with Groves and Woods. The Soil is very fertile, and produces a great quantity of *Indian Corn*. They preserve also Plums and Grapes.

[201] As soon as we were arriv'd, M. *Joliet* and I desir'd the Eldest of the Savages to meet us, and I told them that M. *Joliet* was sent by the Governor of *Canada* to discover new Countries, and I from God Almighty to teach them the Knowledge of their Creator, who being absolute Master of all his Creatures, will have all Nations to know him; and that therefore to comply with his Will, I did not value my Life, which I freely expos'd to all manner of Dangers; Concluding, That we wanted two Guides to put us in our Way, which we desir'd them to grant us. We enforc'd our Compliment with some Presents that were kindly accepted by the Savages; who answer'd us likewise with a Present, *viz.* a *Mat*, which was our Bed during our Voyage. They granted us also two Guides, to accompany us for some Days. The next Day, being the 10th of *June*, the two *Miamis* who were to conduct us, embark'd with us in sight of all the Inhabitants of the Village, who could not admire enough that seven *Europeans* should venture upon so dangerous and extraordinary an Undertaking.

We were inform'd, that within three Leagues of the *Maskoutens*, there was a River which runs into the **Henepin* calls **Mississipi*, and that we were to go directly to the *it Meschafipi*. West-South-West, to find it; but there are so many Morasses and Lakes between it, that had it not been for our Guide,

we had never been able to find it; and the River upon which we row'd, to find the Place we were to Land and carry our Canow into the other, was so full of Wild-Oats, that it lookt rather like a Corn-Field than a River; infomuch that we cou'd hardly discover its Channel. As the *Miamis* frequented this Place, they conducted us to the usual Place of *Portage*, and help'd us to carry our Canow over-land into the other River, distant from the former about two Miles and a half¹; from [202] whence they return'd home, leaving us in an unknown Country, having nothing to rely upon but the Divine Providence. We made a Solemn Vow in this place, and resolv'd to use some particular Prayers every Day to the Blessed Virgin, to recommend our Persons and Enterprize to her Protection, and afterwards embark'd.

This River is call'd *Mesconsin* [Wisconsin]: It is very broad, but the Sands make its Navigation difficult; and this Difficulty is increas'd by an infinite Number of Islands cover'd with Vines. The Country through which it flows is very fine; the Groves dispos'd at certain Distances in the Meadows, make a noble Prospect; and the Fruit of the Trees discovers the Fertility of the Soil. Those Groves are full of Walnut-Trees, as also of Oaks, and of another sort of Trees unknown to us in *Europe*, the Boughs whereof are arm'd with long Thorns. We saw no other Game in these Meadows but abundance of Wild-Goats, and Wild-Bulls. Within thirty Leagues of this Place where we embark'd, we found some Iron-Mines; and one of our Company, who had formerly

¹ The Fox-Wisconsin portage (see p. 306, note 1, ante).—ED.

seen such Mines, told us that these were extraordinary good: They are not above three Foot deep, and are situate near a Row of Rocks, the Foot whereof is cover'd with fine Woods. After having row'd ten Leagues further, that is, forty Leagues in all from the Place where we embark'd, we came into the *Mississipi* on the 17th of *June*. The Mouth of the *Mesconfin* is about forty two Degrees and a half of Latitude. The Satisfaction I had to see this famous River, is almost incredible; for though the Savages had often spoken of it to our Men, none of them had been so bold as to venture so far in this unknown Country. This oblig'd me to consider this River with a greater Attention than otherwise I wou'd have done, as the Reader will perceive in perusing the following Account.

[203] The *Mississipi* is form'd by several Lakes in the North-Country, from whence it runs to the South. Its Channel is pretty narrow at the Mouth of the *Mesconfin*, being streighten'd by a Row of high Mountains on the other side; but however its Stream is very gentle, because of its depth; for we found there nineteen Fathom Water. But a little below that Place, it enlarges it self, and is about three quarters of a League broad. Its Banks are very fine; but three Days after, we discover'd a much better Country. The Trees are higher, and the Islands so beautiful, that I verily believe there is nothing like it in the World. The Meadows are cover'd with an infinite number of Wild-Goats and Bulls, and the River with Bustards and Swans without Wings, because their Feathers fall in this Country about that

time. We saw extraordinary Fishes, and one of them was so big, that our Canow was like to be broke into Pieces, because it run against it. We saw also a very hideous Sea-Monster; his Head was like that of a Tyger; but his Nose was somewhat sharper, and like a Wild-Cat; his Beard was long, his Ears stood upright, the Colour of his Head being Grey, and the Neck Black. He look'd upon us for some time; but as we came near him, our Oars frighted him away: This is the only one we saw.¹ We caught abundance of Sturgeons, and another sort of Fish somewhat like our Trouts, except that their Eyes and Nose are much lesser, and that they have near the Nose a Bone like a Woman's Busk, three Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long, the End whereof is flat and very broad, infomuch that when they leap out of the Water, the Weight of that Bone makes them fall backwards. We saw also abundance of Turkey-Cocks on the Banks of the River.

[204] The *Pifkious*, which we call *Wild-Bulls*, are not much unlike ours; they are not altogether so long, but twice as big: We shot one of them, and thirteen Men had much ado to drag him from the Place where he fell. Their Head is of a prodigious bigness, their Forehead broad and flat, and their Horns (between which there is at least a Foot and a half distance) are all black, and much longer than those of our *European* Cattle. They have a Bump on the Back; and their Head, Breast, and part of the Shoulders, are cover'd

¹Probably a panther. The fish here described is the spade-fish (p. 219, *note 1, ante*).—ED.

with long Hair. They have in the middle of their Forehead an ugly Tuff of long Hair, which falling down over their Eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look dreadful. The rest of the Body is cover'd with curl'd Hair, or rather Wooll, like our Sheep, but much thicker and ruffer. Their Hair falls in Summer-time, and then their Skin is as soft as Velvet, nothing remaining but a kind of short Down. The Savages make use of their Skins for Gowns, which they paint with several Colours. Their Flesh and Fat is excellent, and the best Dish of the Savages, who destroy abundance of them, though they are very fierce and dangerous; and if they can but take a Man with their Horns, they toss him up, and then tread upon him. The Savages hide themselves when they have shot at them, for else they shou'd be in great danger of their Lives, those Beasts being fiercer when wounded; they follow them at certain distances, till they have lost so much Blood as to be unable to do them any hurt, or to defend themselves. They Graze upon the Banks of the River; and I have seen above four hundred together.¹

We continu'd to fall down the River, having seen nothing for above a hundred Leagues, but Beasts and Birds; however, we were always upon our Guard, and especially during the Night, for [205] fear of any Surprize. We landed in the Evening to dress our Supper, and made but a little Fire, and then left the Shore, casting an Anchor near the middle

¹ Regarding the bison (usually known as buffalo), see monographs in *U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, Ann. Rep.*, 1875, pp. 443-587; and *Smithsonian Inst. Rep.*, 1887, pt. 2, pp. 367-548.—ED.

of the River, where we lay, as the safest Place, and yet one of us watch'd always by turns. On the 25th of *June* we went a-shore, and found some fresh Traces of Men upon the Sand, and then found a Path which led into a Meadow. We call'd our Men together, and it was resolv'd that our Men shou'd continue in the Canows, while M. *Joliet* and I shou'd follow that Path, and endeavour to find the Habitation of the Savages. This Undertaking was very bold, yet relying upon God Almighty, we went on, and within ten Leagues from thence, discover'd a Village on the Banks of a River, and two other Villages on a Hill within half a League from the former. Having again implor'd God's Protection, we advanc'd so near to the Savages, that we cou'd hear them talk, and therefore thought it was time to give them notice of our Arrival, which we did with a loud Cry, and then stopp'd. The Savages immediately came out of their Cabins, and seeing but two Men, they were not frighted, and especially because we had acquainted them by our Cry, with our Approach; therefore they sent four of their Old Men to talk to us, and see who we were, and what Business we came upon. They carri'd two Pipes adorn'd with Feathers of several Colours, which they presented to the Sun, without speaking a Word. They march'd so slowly, that we began to be impatient; and when they came near us, they stopp'd, and us'd many Ceremonies. We were very glad to see them cover'd with Cloth, for thereby we judg'd they were either our Allies, or Friends of our Allies; and therefore I spoke to them, and ask'd them who they were? They answer'd,

That they were *Illinois*, and [206] presented us their Pipe to smook, desiring us also to walk to their Habitations. Those Pipes are call'd both by the Savages and *Europeans*, *Calumets*; and therefore I shall make use of their Word for the future, having often occasion to mention these Pipes.

They conducted us to a Cabin, where an Old Man waited for us, in a very extraordinary Posture, which, as I understand since, is the usual Ceremony they use for the Reception of Strangers. This Man stood before the Cabin, having both his Hands lifted up to Heaven, opposite to the Sun, inasmuch that it darted its Rays through his Fingers, upon his Face; and when we came near him, he told us, *What a fair Day this is since thou comest to visit us! All our People wait for thee, and thou shalt enter our Cabin in Peace.* Having repeated the Compliment to M. *Joliet*, he conducted us into his Cabin, where abundance of People crowded to see us, keeping however a great Silence, that we heard nothing a great while, but now and then these Words, *You have done well, Brothers, to come and see us.*

As soon as we sat down, they presented us, according to Custom, their *Calumet*, which one must needs accept, for else he shou'd be lookt upon as an open Enemy, or a meer Brute; however, it is not necessary to smook; and provided one puts it to his Mouth, it is enough. While the Old Man smook'd in our Cabin to entertain us, the Great Captain of the *Illinois* sent us word to come to his Village, where he design'd to confer with us; and accordingly we went to him, being attended by all the Inhabitants of this Village, who having

never seen any *Europeans* before, accompani'd us all the Way. We met that Captain at the Door of his Cabin, in the middle of Ten Old Men; all of them were standing, and each had his *Calumet* [207] towards the Sun. He made us a short Speech, to congratulate our happy Arrival in that Country; and presented us his *Calumet*, wherein we were oblig'd to smook before we went into his Cabin.

This Ceremony being over, he conducted us, and desir'd us to sit down upon a Mat, and the Old Men of that Nation being present, I thought fit to acquaint them with the Subject of our Voyage, and therefore I told them, 1. That we design'd to visit all Nations that were on that River, down to the Sea. 2. That God Almighty, their Creator, took pity on them, and had sent me to bring them to the Knowledge of his Being, and therefore expected a full Submission from them. 3. That the Great Captain of the *French* had commanded me to tell them, that he had subdu'd the *Iroquese*, and wou'd have every Body to live in Peace. 4. We desir'd them to tell us whatever they knew concerning the Nations we were to meet along the River. We enforc'd every Point of our Speech with a Present, and then sat down. The Captain of the *Illinois* answer'd, That he was very glad to hear of the great Actions of our Captain, meaning the Governor of *Canada*, and desir'd us to remain amongst them, because of the great Dangers to which we shou'd be expos'd in continuing our Voyage; but I told them that we did not fear to lose our Lives for the Glory of God; at which they were mightily surpriz'd. He presented us with a *Calumet*,

the most mysterious thing in the World; of which I shall give an Account in another Place.

The Council being over, we were invited to a Feast, which we were oblig'd to accept. The first Mefs was a Dish of *Sagamitsee*, that is, some Meal of *Indian* Corn boil'd with Water, and season'd with Grease: The Master of Ceremonies holding [208] a kind of Spoon-full of that *Sagamitsee*, put some thrice into my Mouth, and then did the like to M. *Joliet*. They brought for a Second Course, three Fishes in a Dish, whereof he took a Piece, and having took out the Bones, and blown upon it to cool it, he put it into my Mouth, just as a Bird feeds his young ones. The Third Service was a huge Dog, whom they kill'd on purpose; but understanding that we eat no such Creatures; they brought a Piece of Beef, and serv'd us as before.

As soon as we had done, we went to visit the Village, which consists of near three hundred Cabins, being attended by an Officer, to oblige the Savages to make room, and not crowd upon us. They presented us with Girdles and Garters, and some other Works made of the Hair of Bears and Bulls. We lay in the Cabin of the Captain, and the next Day took our Leave of him, promising to return in Four Moons.¹ They conducted us as far as our Canows, with near eight hundred Persons, who express'd an extraordinary Joy for our kind Visit, as they call'd it.

It will not be improper to relate here what I observ'd of the Custom and Manners of this People, which are very

¹ That is, four months; for the Indians reckon time by the moon's revolutions.—ED.

different from what is practis'd among the other Nations of the *Northern-America*.

The Word *Illinois* in their Language signifies *Men*, as if they did look upon the other Savages as Beasts; and truly it must be confes'd that they are not altogether in the Wrong, for they have more Humanity than all the other Nations that I have seen in *America*. The short time I remain'd with them, did not permit me to inform my self, as much as I desir'd, of their Customs and Manners; but here is what I was able to observe; They are divided into several Villages, whereof some are very remote [209] from those that I have seen. They call them *Perouarca* [*sc.* Peouarea]; but as they live so far one from the other, their Language is also very different. However, it is a Dialect of the *Algonquin*, and therefore we were able to understand what they said, and to converse with them. They are good-natur'd Men, tractable and easy: They keep several Wives, and yet they are exceedingly jealous: They observe with great Care their Behaviour; and if they find them in any Fault as to their Chastity, they cut off their Noses and Ears; and I saw several who carry'd upon their Faces the Marks of their Infidelity. The *Illinois* are very well shap'd, and very dextrous: They are good Marksmen with their Arrows and small Guns, with which they are supply'd by the Savages that have Commerce with the *Europeans*. This makes them formidable to the other Nations inhabiting to the Westward, who have no Fire-Arms. The *Illinois* knowing how much they are frighted at the Noise of their Guns, make Excursions very far to the Westward,

and bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other Nations for the Commodities they want. Those Nations are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools; and their Knives, Axes, and other Instruments, are made of Flints, and other sharp Stones.

When the *Illinois* go upon any Expedition, the whole Village must have notice of it; and therefore they use to make an Out-cry at the Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and the Morning they are to set out. Their Captains are distinguish'd from the Soldiers by Red Scarfs, made with the Hair of Bears or Wild Bulls, that are curiously wrought. They have abundance of Game; and their Soil is so fertile, that their *Indian* Corn never fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine. They sow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and especially those whose Seed is Red. They [210] greatly esteem their Citruls, though they are none of the best. They dry them up, and keep them till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabins are very large; they are made, cover'd, and pav'd with Mats of Marsh-Rushes. Their Dishes are of Wood; but their Spoons are made of the Bones of the Skull of Wild-Oxen, which they cut so as to make them very convenient to eat their *Sagamittee*. They have Physicians amongst them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are sick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportionable to the Presents they make unto those who have prescrib'd them. They have no other Clothes but Skins of Beasts, which serve to cover their

Women; for the Men go most of the Year stark-naked. I don't know by what Superstition some of the *Illinois* and *Nadouessians* wear Womens Apparel. When they have taken the same, which they do in their Youth, they never leave it off; and certainly there must be some Mystery in this Matter, for they never Marry, and work in the Cabins with Women, which other Men think below them to do. They may go however to their Wars, but they must use only a Club, and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they say, for Men alone. They assist at all the Superstitions of their *Juglers*, and their solemn Dances in honour of the *Calumet*, in which they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are call'd to their Councils, and nothing is determin'd without their Advice; for, because of their extraordinary way of Living, they are look'd upon as *Manitous*, or at least for great and incomparable Genius's.¹

I must speak here of the *Calumet*, the most mysterious thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not so much respected; for the Savages have such a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it, *The God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of [211] Life and Death*. One, with this *Calumet*, may venture amongst his Enemies, and in the hottest Engagement they lay down their Arms before this Sacred Pipe. The *Illinois* presented me with one of them, which was very useful to us in our Voyage. Their *Calumet of Peace* is different from the *Calumet of War*; They make use of the

¹ See p. 168, note 1, ante.—ED.

former to seal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with safety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War.

It is made of a Red Stone like our Marble¹; the Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixt to a hollow Reed, to hold it for smoaking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of several Colours; and they call it, *The Calumet of the Sun*, to whom they present it, especially when they want fair Weather or Rain, thinking that that Planet can have no less respect for it than Men have, and therefore that they shall obtain their Desires. They dare not wash themselves in Rivers in the beginning of the Summer, or taste the new Fruit of Trees, before they have danc'd the *Calumet*, which they do in the following manner:

This Dance of the *Calumet* is a solemn Ceremony amongst the Savages, which they perform upon important Occasions, as to confirm an Alliance, or make Peace with their Neighbours. They use it also to entertain any Nation that comes to visit them; and in this Case we may consider it as their Balls. They perform it in Winter-time in their Cabins, and in the open Field in the Summer. They chuse for that purpose a set Place among Trees, to shelter themselves against the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the middle a large Matt, as a Carpet, to lay upon [it] the God of the Chief of the

¹ This red stone was that now known as "catlinite," thus named for George Catlin, the artist, who was the first to describe (1836) the place from which the Indians obtained it. This is the noted Pipestone Quarry, in Pipestone county, in the southwestern corner of Minnesota. See *Jes. Relations*, lix, p. 310.—ED.

Company, who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call *Manitooa* [*sc.* Manitou]. It is sometime a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or any thing else that they dream of in [212] their Sleep; for they think this *Manitooa* will supply their Wants, by Fishing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their *Manitooa* they place the *Calumet*, their Great Deity, making round about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms, *viz.* their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.

Things being thus dispos'd, and the Hour of Dancing coming on, those who are to sing, take the most Honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or the Green Arbours they make in case the Trees be not thick enough to shadow them. They chuse for this Service the best Wits amongst them, either Men or Women. Every Body sits down afterwards, round about, as they come, having first of all saluted the *Manitooa*, which they do in blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincense. Every Body, one after another, takes the *Calumet*, and holding it with his two Hands, dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs. This *Preludium* being over, he who is to begin the Dance, appears in the middle of the Assembly, and having taken the *Calumet*, presents it to the Sun, as if he wou'd invite him to smoke. Then he moves it into an infinite number of Postures, sometimes laying it near the Ground, then stretching its Wings, as if he wou'd make it fly, and then presents it to the Spectators, who smoke with

it one after another, dancing all the while. This is the first Scene of this famous Ball.

The Second is a Fight, with Vocal and Instrumental Musick; for they have a kind of Drum, which agrees pretty well with the Voices. The Person who dances with the *Calumet*, gives a Signal to one of their Warriours, who takes a Bow and Arrows, with an Ax, from the Trophy already [213] mention'd, and fights the other, who defends himself with the *Calumet* alone, both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being over, he who holds the *Calumet*, makes a Speech, wherein he gives an Account of the Battels he has fought, and the Prisoners he has taken, and then receives a Gown, or any other Present, from the Chief of the Ball. He gives then the *Calumet* to another, who having acted his Part, gives it to another, and so of all others, till the *Calumet* returns to the Captain, who presents it to the Nation invited unto that Feast, as a Mark of their Friendship, and a Confirmation of their Alliance. I can't pretend to be so much Master of their Language as to judge of their Songs, but methinks they are very witty.

We parted from the *Illinois* towards the middle of *June*, about Three a-clock, and fell down the River, looking for another call'd *Pekitanoui*,¹ which runs from the North-West into the *Mississipi*, of which I shall speak anon. As we follow'd the Banks, I observ'd on a Rock a Simple, which I take to be very extraordinary. Its Root is like small Turnips link'd together by some Fibres of the same Root, which

¹ One of the early names of the Missouri River.— ED.

taſtes like Carrots. From that Root ſprings a Leaf as large as one's Hand, and about an Inch thick, with ſome Spots in the middle; from whence ſpring alſo ſome other Leaves, each of them bearing five or fix yellow Flowers, like little Bells.

We found abundance of Mulberries as good and as big as ours; and another Fruit which we took at firſt for Olives, but it taſtes like Orange. We found another Fruit as big as an Egg, and having cut it into two Pieces, we found the inſide was divided into ſixteen, eighteen, and twenty ſmall Cells or Holes, and in each of them a Fruit like our Almonds, which is very ſweet, though the Tree ſtinks: Its Leaves are like our Walnut-Trees. We [214] ſaw alſo in the Meadows a Fruit like our Filbirds [Filberts]: The Tree which bears it has its Leaves much broader than ours; and at the End of the Branches there is a kind of a Purſe like a *Turnbole*, in which the Filbirds are lock'd up.¹

Along the Rocks I have mention'd, we found one very high and ſteep, and ſaw two Monſters painted upon it, which are ſo hideous, that we were frighted at the firſt Sight, and the boldeſt Savages dare not fix their Eyes upon them. They are drawn as big as a Calf, with two Horns like a Wild-Goat; Their Looks are terrible, though their Face has ſomething of Human Figure in it: Their Eyes are Red, their Beard is like that of a Tyger, and their Body is cover'd with Scales. Their Tail is ſo long that it goes o'er their Heads, and then

¹ B. F. French (in Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 38), identifies theſe fruits as *Cactus opuntia*, *Diospyros virginiana* (persimmon), and *Castanea pumila* (chincapin).

"Turnbole" is a miſprint for "turnſole" (*Fr. tournesol*), the ſunflower.—ED.

turns between their Fore-Legs under the Belly, ending like a Fish-Tail. There are but three Colours, *viz.* Red, Green, and Black; but those Monsters are so well drawn, that I cannot believe that the Savages did it; and the Rock whereon they are painted is so steep, that it is a Wonder to me how it was possible to draw those Figures: But to know to what purpose they were made, is as great a Mystery. Whatever it be, our best Painters wou'd hardly do better.

As we fell down the River, following the gentle Stream of the Waters, and discoursing concerning those Monsters, we heard a great Noise of Waters, and saw several Pieces of Timber, and small floating Islands, which were huddled down the River *Pekitanoui*. The Waters of this River are so muddy, because of the violence of its Stream, that it is impossible to drink of it, and they spoil the Clearness of the *Mississipi*, and make its Navigation very dangerous in this Place. This River runs from the North-West; and I hope to discover, in following its Channel towards its Source, [215] some other River that discharges it self into the *Mar Marvejo* [*i. e.*, *Bermejo*, or *Vermejo*], or the *Calipornian-Gulph*. The Savages told me, That about six Days Journey from its Mouth, there is a Meadow of thirty Leagues broad, at the end whereof, directly to the North-West, is a small River, which is almost navigable for Canows, and runs to the South-West into a Lake, from which springs a deep River, which runs directly Westward into the Sea, which certainly must be the *Mar Vermejo*; and I hope I shall have, one time or other, the opportunity to undertake that Discovery, to instruct those

poor Nations who have been so long ignorant of their Creator. But leaving this Digression, I return to the *Mississippi*.

About 20 Leagues lower than the *Pekitanoui*, we met another River call'd *Ouabouskigou*, which runs into the *Mississippi*, in the Latitude of 36 degrees; but before we arriv'd there, we pass'd through a most formidable Place to the Savages, who believe that a *Manitoa*, or Devil, resides in that Place, to destroy such who are so bold as to come near it. They told us dreadful Stories to deter us from our Undertaking; but this terrible *Manitoa* proves nothing but some Rocks in a turning of the River, about thirty foot high, against whom the Stream runs with a great violence; and being beaten back by the Rocks and Island near it, the Waters make a great noise, and flow with a great rapidity through a narrow Canal, which is certainly very dangerous to unskilful Canow-men. This River *Ouabouskigou* comes from the Eastward; the *Cbuoanous*¹ inhabit its Banks, and are so numerous, that I have been inform'd there are thirty eight Villages of that Nation situated on this River. This People is much infested by the *Iroquese*, who make a cruel War upon them without any Provocation, but only because they are [216] a poor harmless Nation, unacquainted with any Arms. They take them without any resistance, and carry them into Slavery.

A little above the Mouth of the River, we saw some

¹ A misprint for Chouanons (Shawnees). The river here mentioned was the Ohio, often called by early French explorers Ouabache, which is apparently a corruption of the Indian name given in the text.—ED.

Downs, wherein our Men discover'd a good Iron-Mine: They saw several Veins of it, and a Lay of about a foot thick. There is also a great quantity of it adhering to the Flints, some of which they brought into our Canow. There is also a kind of fat Earth of three different Colours, *viz.* Purple, Violet, and Red, which turns the Water into a deep Blood-colour. We found also a red Sand very heavy: I put some upon my Oar, which immediately became red; and the Waters could not wash it away for a Fortnight together. We had seen no Reeds or Canes; but they begin to be so thick in this Place, that Wild Bulls can hardly go through them. They grow very high and big, and their Knots are crown'd with several Leaves long and sharp, the greenness whereof is incomparable.

We had not been troubled hitherto with Gnats, but they began to be very troublesome to us a little lower in the *Ouabouskigou*. The Savages who inhabit this Country are oblig'd to build their Huts in a different manner from the other, because of those troublesome Flies. They drive into the Ground big Poles, very near one another, which support a large Hurdle, which serves them instead of a Floor, under which they make their Fire; and the Smoak drives away those Creatures, who cannot abide it. They lay upon that Hurdle, the Roof whereof is cover'd with Skins against the Rain, and serves also to shelter them against the Heat of the Sun. The same Reason oblig'd us to make a Cabin over our Canow.

[217] As we were considering the Country, the Banks of

the River being very low, we discover'd several Savages arm'd with Fire-Arms, waiting for us upon the Shoar, where the Stream of the River carri'd us. Our Men prepar'd themselves to fight, and it was resolv'd to let them fire first of all; and as we came near, I spoke to them in the Language of the *Hurons*, and shew'd my *Calumet* of Peace; but they did not answer me, which we took for a Declaration of War. However, we resolv'd to venture to pass; but when they had seen us at a nearer distance, they desir'd us in a friendly manner to come to their Habitations, where they entertain'd us with Beef and Oil of Bears, together with white Plums, as good every whit as ours. These Savages have Guns, Knives, Axes, Shovels, Glafs-Beads, and Bottles wherein they put their Gunpowder. They wear their Hair long as the *Iroquese* do, and their Women are cover'd as they are amongst the *Hurons*. They told us, That they were only within Ten Days Journey of the Sea; that they bought those Commodities from *Europeans* who live to the Eastward; that these *Europeans* had Images and Beads; that they play upon Instruments; that some were cloath'd as I was, and that they were very kind to them. However, I could find nothing in them that could persuade me that they had receiv'd any Instructions about our Holy Religion. I endeavour'd to give them a general Idea of it, and presented them with some Medals to put them in mind of it.

The account given us by the Savages was a great Encouragement to us, in hopes to see the Sea in a few Days; and therefore we row'd with an extraordinary vigour. The Banks

of the River began to be cover'd with high Trees, [218] which hinder'd us from observing the Country, as we had done all along; but we judg'd from the bellowing of the Bulls, that the Meadows are very near. We saw some Quails on the Water-side, and shot a small Parrot, who had the half of his Head red, and the other part and the Neck yellow, and the rest of the Body green. We found our selves in this Place in the Latitude of 33 Degrees, steering directly South-erly; and a little while afterwards we discover'd a Village on the River-side call'd *Michigamea*. The Savages made a great noise, and appear'd in Arms, dividing themselves into three Parties, one of which stood on the Shoar, while the others went into their Wooden Canows, to intercept our Retreat, and prevent our escape. They were arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Clubs, Axes, and Bucklers. Notwithstanding these Preparations, we row'd directly to the Shoar, where their main Body stood; and as we came near, two of their young Warriours flung themselves into the Water to board my Canow, which he would have done, had not the rapidity of the Stream prevented his Design; so that they were forc'd to return a-shore, having thrown at us their Clubs, which by good fortune went over our Heads. I presented my *Calumet* of Peace, but they were so busy that they could not see: However, as they advanc'd in a body to shoot at us, the Old Men discover'd my *Calumet*; whereupon they made an Out-cry, commanding their Youth to stop, and two of them advanc'd to the Water-side, throwing their Arrows and Quivers into our Canow, as a sign of Peace, desiring us by signs to come

a-shoar, which we did, though with great apprehensions. I spoke to them in six different Languages, [219] of which they understood none; but they brought an Old Man who spoke *Illinois*, whom we told, That we design'd to go to the Sea, and made them some small Presents. They understood what I told them on this matter; but very little, as I fear, of what I added concerning the C R E A T O R of the World. They answer'd, That we should learn whatever we desir'd ten Leagues lower, at a great Village call'd *Akamsea*, and presented us with their *Sagometta*, and some Fish.

We lay there that Night in great Fears, and the next Morning embark'd again with our Interpreter and ten Savages in one of their Wooden Canows, and met within half a League from *Akamsea* two large Canows full of Savages. The Captain was standing in the first, holding his *Calumet*, of which he made several Motions, according to the Customs of his Country. I stood up likewise in my Canow with my *Calumet*, at which they were so pleas'd, that they met us with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, attended with Songs and Shouts. They presented us their *Calumet* to smoak, and some Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and then return'd home, bidding us to follow him, which we did at some distance. They had in the mean time prepar'd a kind of Scaffold to receive us, adorn'd with fine Mats; upon which we sat down, and the Old Men and Warriours near us, the rest of the People standing off. We found amongst them a young Man who spoke *Illinois* much better than the Interpreter we had brought with us from *Mitchigamea*; and we desir'd him to

acquaint his Nation with the Subject of our Voyage, as he had understood it from us. We made him some small Presents, which they receiv'd with great Civility, [220] and seem'd to admire what I told them concerning G O D, the Creation of the World, and the Providences; telling us by the Interpreter, That they should think themselves very happy, if we would remain with them to teach them.

They told us that we were within five Days Journey from the Sea; but that they were not acquainted with the Nation inhabiting the same; meaning doubtless the *Europeans*; for their Enemies hindred them from keeping any Correspondence with them. They added, That their Axes, Knives, and Glafs Beads, had been given them in exchange of other Commodities, by some Nations inhabiting to the Eastward, and by some *Illinois*, who had an Habitation to the Westward within four Days Journey of them: That the Savages whom we had met with Fire-Arms, were their Enemies, who hindred their Commerce with the *Europeans*; and that we should be expos'd to great Dangers, if we did venture to proceed farther, because those Savages were continually cruising on the River. In the mean time, they brought us some *Sagammettea*, with some roasted Corn, and a piece of a Dog.

These Savages are very courteous, and give freely what they have; but their Provisions are but indifferent, because they dare not leave their Habitation to go a Hunting for fear of their Enemies. They have *Indian* Corn in great plenty, and at all times, having three Crops every Year. They roast it, or else boil it in great Pots of Earth, which

are curiously made.¹ They go naked, and wear their Hair very short, boring their Ears, which they adorn with Rings of Glafs-Beads; but their Women are cover'd with Skins, having their Hair divided into two [221] Tresses, which they throw behind their Back, without any other Ornament. Their Feasts are without any Ceremony: They serve their Meats in great Dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases. Their Language is very difficult, and I could never pronounce any Word of it. Their Cabins are made with the Barks of Trees, and are generally very long; they lie at the two ends, their Beds being about two foot higher than the Floor. They keep their Corn in Paniers made of Rushes, or in great Gourds. They have no Beavers, and all their Commodities are the Skins of Wild Bulls. It never snows in their Country, and they have no other Winter than some violent Rains, which makes the only difference between Summer and Winter. They have no other Fruit but Water-Melons, though their Soil might produce any other, did they know how to cultivate it.

They held a Council, wherein some propos'd to murder us, because of our Commodities; but their Chief oppos'd that base Design, and having sent for us, *danc'd the Calumet* in our Presence, which he presented me with, to seal our common Friendship. M. *Joliet* and I in the mean time call'd our Men together, to advise whether we shou'd proceed any

¹ Regarding the pottery manufactured by the tribes of this region, see Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1882-83, pp. 360-436; and *Reports of Peabody Museum* for 1875 and 1878.—ED.

further, or return home from thence; and having consider'd that the Gulph of *Mexico* lying in the Latitude of 31 Degrees and 40 Minutes, cou'd be but within three or four Days Journey from the *Akamsea*, and that therefore the *Mississipi* discharg'd it self into it, and not to the Eastward of the Cape of *Florida*, or into the *Californian-Sea*, as it was expected, it was resolv'd to return home. We consider'd likewise that the Advantage of our great Voyage wou'd be altogether lost to our Nation, did we fall into the [222] hands of the *Spaniards*, from whom we cou'd expect no other Treatment but Death or Slavery; and therefore it was more prudent to content our selves with this Discovery, and make a Report thereof to those who had sent us. So that having rested another Day, we left the Village of the *Akamsea*, on the 17th of *July*, having follow'd the *Mississipi* from the Latitude of 42 to 34, and preach'd the Gospel to the utmost of my Power, to the Nations we visited. We went up the River with great difficulty, because of the Rapidity of the Stream, and left it in the Latitude of 38 Degrees, and went into a River, which conducted us into the Lake of the *Illinois*, which Way is much shorter than the other, by the River *Mesconsin*, through which we came.

I never saw a more pleasant Country than the Banks of that River. The Meadows are cover'd with Wild-Bulls, Stags, Wild-Goats; and the Rivers and Lakes with Bustards, Swans, Ducks, Beavers. We saw also abundance of Parrots. Several small Rivers fall into this, which is deep and broad, for 65 Leagues, and therefore navigable almost all the Year

long. There is but a *Portage* of half a League into the Lake of the *Illinois*.¹ We found on the Banks of the said River a Village of *Illinois* call'd *Kuilka* [*sc.* *Kaskasia*], consisting of 74 Cabins. They receiv'd us with all the Kindness imaginable, and oblig'd me to promise that I wou'd return to instruct them, and live in their Country. Their Captain, with most of their Youth, accompani'd us to the Lake of the *Illinois* [Lake Michigan], from whence we return'd to the Bay of *Puans*; where we arriv'd towards the latter end of *September*, having been about three Months in our Journey.

[223] Although my tedious Journey shou'd be attended with no other Advantage than the Salvation of one Soul, I shou'd think my Pains sufficiently rewarded, and I hope I may presume so much; for having preach'd the Gospel to the *Illinois* of *Perouacca* for three Days together, in our Return, my Words made such an Impression upon that poor People, that as we were embarking, they brought to me a Dying Child, to Christen him, which I did about half an Hour before he dy'd, by a special Providence of God, who was pleas'd to save that innocent Creature.²

¹ A reference to the Chicago-Des Plaines portage; see p. 626, note 1, *ante*.—ED.

² This is an inaccurate and often abridged translation of Marquette's report of his voyage with Joliet down the Mississippi River. For an accurate reproduction of this document (with translation), see *Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 189-163.—ED.

[224] *Frequent mention having been made in the preceding Journal, of M. du Salles; it may be expected some Account should be given of his latter Discoveries, the unfortunate Success thereof, and his own Tragical End; which so discourag'd the French, that they never made any further Attempt.*

MR. *du Salles*, with divers *French* who did accompany him, fell down to the Mouth of the Great River, where it disembogues it self into the Gulf of *Mexico*; but neither he nor any of his Company understanding Navigation, or wanting Instruments, fanci'd they were in the Latitude of 27 Degrees, whereas really it was 29; and not being able to inform themselves of its Longitude, or distance from the most Westerly End of the Gulf, they presum'd they were within a few Leagues of the River of *Magdalen*, which is 60 Leagues North of the River of *Palms*, and 120 from the River *Panuco*, as it is represented in *Hennepin's* Chart, and on the Great Globe of *Coronelli*¹; which great Mistake was the cause of all his Misfortunes: For after his return up the River, and through the Great Lakes to *Canada*, he embrac'd the next Opportunity of returning by Shipping for *France*; where he

¹Marco Vincenzo Coronelli, an Italian geographer, who lived from about 1650 to 1718.—ED.

to the King and his Ministers gave such a favourable Representation of the Country, and Commodities therein contain'd, the Populoufness [225] of the Country, Civility of the Inhabitants, far exceeding all the other Natives of *America* they had the Knowledge of; that the King thereupon order'd him a Fleet, and a very confiderable Equipage, *viz.* a Man of War carrying 56 Guns, a great Fly-boat, a Patache,¹ and a Brigantine, with things convenient for establishing a Colony and Traffick with the Natives. This Fleet was Commanded by M. *Beaujeau*, an Experienc'd Sea-Captain, who was Victuall'd for a Year; and M. *du Salles* had under his Command 150 Land-men, who were to settle in the Country. The Fleet pass'd by *Martinico* and *Guardaloupe*, where they took in fresh Provision and Water, together with divers Voluntiers; and by M. *du Salle's* Direction, sail'd thence to the North-West end of the Gulf, in 27 Degrees. When they arriv'd there, they were in great Confusion, not being able to come near the Coast of *Florida*, by reason of a long Bank Reciff, or as the *French* call it, *Contre-coste*,² which they search'd for some hundred Miles. It was no-where above a Musket-shot over, and every twenty or thirty Miles there was a Breach, by which the Water issu'd out of a vast *Lagune*, whose breadth they could not learn. They went in their Ship-Boat above forty Miles, and could not gain sight of the main Land or

¹ Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 331) calls these two vessels "a store-ship and a ketch."
— ED.

² This term is not to be found in standard French dictionaries, but it evidently refers to the reef-formations which front that and other parts of the Gulf coast, as well as the Atlantic Southern States.— ED.

Continent. This *Lagune* was shallow, in some Places six foot, in few above nine or ten; there are scatter'd up and down in it divers small Islands, upon one of them they found above four hundred *Indians*, who did not inhabit there, but came accidentally, being upon some Expedition. They were all Archers, very proper goodly Men; their Hutts were cover'd with Skins of the wild crook-back Kine, which the *French* call *Peskiaus*,¹ the *Spaniards* *Corcobades*, or Crook-back. They convers'd and traffick'd very friendly with the *French* divers Weeks, until an unhappy Accident made a great Breach.

[226] M. *du Salles*, against the Opinion of the Pilots, would adventure the Fly-boat through one of the Breaches into the *Lagune*, apprehending he had found a Channel of sufficient depth, through which he might pass to the Continent: But whether the Channel was too shallow, or that they mistook it, the Fly-boat was lost, and the Frigate drawing little Water, escap'd. The *Indians* upon the Island sav'd some small matter of the Wreck, which the *French* would take by force from them: They offer'd in exchange Skins, and such other Commodities as they had. The *French* when they could get no more, took two of their *Piroques*, or large Canows; which being absolutely necessary for them, and without which they could not possibly return to the main Land from whence they came, occasion'd a Skirmish, in which the *French* lost fifteen Men, and the *Indians* many more. M. *du Salles* being almost distracted, not knowing how to

¹ The name *Pisikiou* is an Algonkin appellation of the wild bison; it was, naturally, adopted by the French.—ED.

find the Mouth of the River, took the Frigate, divers Boats and Pinnaces, together with a hundred and fifty Men, and Provisions for a Month, and cross'd the *Lagune*, with an intention to search the Coast till he found the Mouth of the Great River. *M. Beaujeau* waited ten Weeks, and heard no Tidings from him, it being in the Heat of Summer. They wanting Water and Provisions, besides abundance of his Men falling Sick of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, he departed for *France*, without any News of *M. du Salle*; who after he departed from the Ships, rambled some Days in the *Lagune*, and coasted the Main chiefly towards the West; which was directly contrary to the Course he should have taken, the great River being distant above one hundred Leagues to the East. But many believe *M. du Salle* was guilty of a wilful mistake; for he persuaded his Men, That since they could not find the River, and were come to the River of *St. Magdalen*, being the North-Westerly [227] end of the Gulf, which was not above two hundred Leagues from the rich Mines of *Endebe*, *Santa Barbara*, *la Parale*, and others in the Province of *Saccatecas* [*Zacatecas*], where the *Spaniards* are few, and not Warlike, they could not fail of rich and easy Booty. This Proposition occasion'd a great Division amongst his Men, and deadly Feuds: One part were ready to comply with his Project; others for returning to their Ships; a third Party for searching the Continent towards the East, till they found the Great River, and then return and Pilot the Ship thither, and pursue their Instructions of Planting and Trading. From Words they came to Blows; many were

kill'd in the Scuffle, and amongst others, *M. du Salle* very treacherously by one of his pretended Friends. Upon his Death they divided, and took several Courses. They that return'd to seek the Ship, found it departed, and were never heard of since; others scatter'd, some Easterly, some West-erly, and Northerly. When I receiv'd this Account, which was above three Years after this disastrous Expedition, not above Six were return'd to *Canada*, and amongst them *M. du Salle's* Brother.¹

So that the Providence of Almighty GOD seems to have reserv'd this Country for the *English*, a Patent whereof was granted above Fifty Years ago to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who have made great Discoveries therein, seven hundred Miles West-erly from the Mountains, which separate between it *Carolina* and *Virginia*, and Six hundred Miles from North to South, from the Gulf of *Mexico* to the great Inland Lakes, which are situated behind the Mountains of *Carolina* and *Virginia*. Besides, they have an Account of all the Coast, from the Cape of *Florida* to the River *Panuco*, the Northerly Bounds of the *Spaniards* on the Gulf of *Mexico*, together with most of the chief Harbours, Rivers, [228] and Islands there-unto appertaining; and are about to establish a very considerable Colony on some part of the Great River, so soon as they have agreed upon the Boundaries, or Limits, which

¹This entire paragraph is grossly inaccurate in its statements. For a correct account of La Salle's colony, and of its and his tragic end, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 351-428, 442-446. Cf. Hennepin's own account as given in the present volume, pp. 388-441.—ED.

the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who claim by a Patent procur'd long after that of *Carolana*.¹ But there being space enough for both, and the Proprietors generally inclin'd to an Amicable Conclusion, the Success of this Undertaking is impatiently expected: For considering the Benignity of the Climate, the Healthfulness of the Country, Fruitfulness of the Soil, Ingenuity and Tractableness of the Inhabitants, Variety of Productions, if prudently manag'd, it cannot, humanly speaking, fail of proving one of the most considerable Colonies on the North-Continent of *America*, profitable to the Publick and the Undertakers.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I AM inform'd a large Map, or Draught, of this Country is preparing, together with a very particular Account of the Natives, their Customs, Religion, Commodities, and Materials for divers sorts of Manufactures, which are by the *English* procur'd at great Expense from other Countries.

F I N I S.

¹The earlier of these grants was made in 1627, to Sir Robert Heath: it covered the territory from 31 degrees to 36 degrees north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic coast to the Western Sea; and to this territory was given the name *Carolina*, in honor of Charles I. In 1663, the same region was granted by Charles II. to Edward, earl of Clarendon, and others of the King's adherents; and various settlements in what are now North and South Carolina were made under their auspices. Heath had sold his patent, and later it was formally set aside in favor of the Carolina proprietors; but about 1690 it was purchased by Daniel Coxe, who endeavored to obtain governmental recognition for his claim. He also had schemes for planting colonies in the region that he claimed. It is to this state of affairs that reference is made in our text.—ED.



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